

## **Political and Security Affairs**

### **Regional Issues**

#### **Near East**

##### **Arab-Israeli Situation**

The United States actively pursued the vision of a two-state solution of Israel and Palestine living side by side in peace and security. The United States continued to work in partnership with the other members of the Quartet (the United Nations, European Union, and Russia) to achieve progress on the Quartet's Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict ("Roadmap"). The Security Council met monthly to discuss the situation in the Middle East.

On July 8, Libya submitted to the Security Council a draft resolution on the situation in the Middle East, focusing in large part on Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank. The draft did not take note of ongoing terrorist rocket attacks against Israel from Gaza, nor did it explicitly acknowledge the Roadmap's obligation for a permanent end to rocket, mortar, suicide, and other attacks targeting civilians, and for regional states to cut off funding and other means of support to groups supporting and engaging in violence and terror. The U.S. Delegation opposed the resolution as being unbalanced. The Security Council was unable to come to a consensus on the Libyan draft, and following a decision by Arab League ministers, the draft resolution was not brought to a vote.

On September 19, the Security Council held its monthly meeting on a ministerial meeting on the situation in the Middle East at the ministerial level. Most speakers focused on Israeli settlement activity in the occupied territories. Secretary Rice underscored the importance of the work of the Quartet and noted that there was now a viable peace process with Israelis and Palestinians negotiating. There was no Security Council action as a result of the session.

On December 3, the Security Council met in debate to discuss the situation of a Libyan ship, bound for Gaza and carrying humanitarian supplies, which was turned around by the Israeli navy. The Security Council did not reach any specific conclusion during the debate.

On December 5, the Security Council President released elements to the press addressing events in Hebron and specifically welcoming Israel's evacuation of settlers, condemnation of the resulting settler violence, urging respect for the rule of law without discrimination or exception, and encouragement of Israel and the Palestinian Authority to continue their security cooperation in the Hebron Governorate.

On December 16, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1850, sponsored jointly by the United States and Russia, by a vote of 14-0 with Libya abstaining. The resolution endorsed the principles established at the November 2007 Annapolis Conference and recognized the progress that has

been made thus far. It called on the parties to fulfill their obligations under the Performance-Based Roadmap, noted the importance of the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative, and encouraged the work of the Quartet. This was the first Security Council resolution on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in five years.

On December 28, the United States joined other members of the Security Council in issuing a press statement expressing serious concern at the escalation of the situation in the Gaza Strip. The Security Council called for an immediate halt to all violence, specifying that the parties should stop immediately all military activities and address humanitarian and economic needs. The statement came in the context of renewed fighting between Israel and Hamas after Hamas escalated rocket attacks against Israel (in November) and formally announced on December 19 that it would not extend a six-month pause in violence. Israel, which had indicated a willingness to extend the pause in violence, responded by warning Hamas that it would retaliate militarily if rocket attacks continued. Israel launched an air campaign against Hamas and Hamas-related targets on December 27 in response to Hamas's ongoing campaign. The situation remained unchanged at year's end.

The 63rd General Assembly's regular session in the fall of 2008 voted on 21 resolutions concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and related issues, up from 19 resolutions adopted in 2007. The United States opposed many of these resolutions because they addressed final-status issues that the Israelis and Palestinians must decide through negotiations; advocated activities or language incompatible with basic principles of the Middle East peace process; or expended resources that could be used in more productive ways to improve the lives of the Palestinian people.

During the 63rd General Assembly, the United States continued its efforts to target three resolutions that renewed the mandates of UN entities that embody institutional discrimination against Israel: the Division for Palestinian Rights, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories. Support for the first two of these resolutions decreased somewhat between 2007 and 2008, a reflection of strong U.S. diplomatic efforts that convinced several members to abstain. The number of those opposing the resolutions, however, remained constant. The 63rd General Assembly adopted these resolutions by votes of 106-8(U.S.)-57, 107-8(U.S.)-57, and 95-8(U.S.)-73, respectively. Separately, on December 11, both the United States and Israel joined consensus on a General Assembly resolution on assistance to the Palestinian people.

Throughout the year, U.S. representatives spoke out forcefully and frequently in numerous UN bodies to ensure that Israel was not excluded from or isolated at UN meetings and conferences and that Israeli interests were given fair consideration.

## **Iran**

Throughout 2008, Iran continued to augment its uranium enrichment program, construct the Arak heavy water research reactor, and operate the heavy water production plant, also at Arak, in clear violation of Iran's obligation under Security Council Resolutions 1737 (2006), 1747 (2007), and 1803 (2008) to suspend those activities. Iran made pronounced progress on its enrichment program during 2008. As stated in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) report of February 2008, Iran was operating approximately 3,000 centrifuges and had produced 75 kilograms of low enriched uranium product. At the end of 2008, Iran was installing, testing, or operating an additional 3,000 centrifuges and had produced over 800 kilograms of low enriched uranium hexafluoride. Installation-related work continued for a further 9,000 centrifuges and Iran was testing two new, advanced centrifuge designs.

During this period Iran refused to cooperate with the IAEA investigation into its past efforts to develop a nuclear warhead. Iran held some discussions with the IAEA, but ultimately refused IAEA attempts to resolve questions with the information available to it by rejecting the documentation as "forgeries" and accusations as "fabricated." As of August 2008, Iran had refused all attempts by the IAEA to restart these discussions and Iranian representatives repeatedly labeled the IAEA investigation closed. Iran also rejected IAEA requests to carry out inspection activities at the Arak reactor, despite the fact that the IAEA's authorities in this regard are an instrumental part of Iran's Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement. The IAEA noted repeatedly that, in the absence of such inspections and owing to Iran's completion of the reactor dome, its ability to verify the design of the reactor and the absence of any potential proliferation pathways was compromised.

In response to the threat presented by Iran's continued pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability, the United States remained actively engaged throughout 2008 both in the Security Council and the IAEA to pressure Iran to comply with its international nuclear obligations. The Security Council and the IAEA took a number of actions against Iran, culminating in the adoption of a fifth Security Council resolution in late September, Resolution 1835.

Building upon its efforts in 2007, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1803 on March 3, 2008, imposing additional, legally binding sanctions on Iran under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Resolution 1803 reaffirmed the provisions in Resolutions 1696, 1737, and 1747 and built upon those provisions by broadening the scope of the proliferation-sensitive nuclear activities and nuclear weapons delivery systems-related embargo, establishing a travel ban on persons designated in an annex to the resolution as well as on any additional individuals designated by the Security Council or the Security Council's Iran Sanctions Committee ("1737 Committee"), and expanding the lists of individuals and entities subject to the asset freeze and of persons subject to the travel notification requirement. In addition, the Security Council called upon all states to exercise vigilance with regard to publicly provided financial support for trade with Iran, and, in accordance with states' national

legal authorities and legislation and consistent with international law, to inspect cargoes to and from Iran of aircraft and vessels, at their airports and seaports, owned or operated by Iran Air Cargo or the Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines (IRISL), provided there were reasonable grounds to believe the aircraft or vessel was transporting goods prohibited under Resolutions 1737, 1747, or 1803. In cases where an inspection was undertaken, the Security Council required all states to submit to it within five working days a written report on the inspection. Resolution 1803 also broadened the scope of the 1737 Committee's mandate as set out in Resolution 1737 to include the measures imposed by Resolutions 1747 and 1803. The Security Council requested the IAEA Director-General to report within 90 days on Iran's compliance with the terms of the resolution. The Security Council also clearly stated that it "shall" consider the adoption of further appropriate measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter if the IAEA Director-General reported that Iran had failed to comply with Resolutions 1737, 1747, and 1803.

On September 27, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1835, its fifth resolution on the Iranian nuclear issue. In Resolution 1835 the Security Council reaffirmed its previous resolutions and statements on Iran and its commitment to an early negotiated solution through a dual-track approach to the Iranian nuclear issue and welcomed continuing efforts in that regard. The Security Council also called upon Iran to comply fully and without delay with its obligations under the four resolutions and to meet the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors.

Per Resolutions 1737, 1747, and 1803 states were to report to the 1737 Committee within 60 days of the adoption of the resolution on the steps taken to implement their obligations. At the end of 2008, the 1737 Committee had received 90 national reports under Resolution 1737, 77 national reports under Resolution 1747, and 63 reports pursuant to Resolution 1803. Some of those reports combined implementation efforts of two or three resolutions. All states that submitted reports assured the Committee of their commitment to implementing the resolutions and to meeting their obligations. The United States fulfilled its obligation in this regard by submitting a national report for each resolution.

On March 27, 2008, pursuant to Resolution 1737, the 1737 Committee invited the IAEA to provide a further update to its March 2007 report on actions taken by that agency to implement the measures imposed by Resolution 1737 regarding technical cooperation and assistance it had provided to Iran. With regard to technical assistance, only projects pertaining to food, agricultural, medical, safety, and humanitarian purposes were permitted. On April 18, the IAEA informed the Committee that three requests for technical cooperation had been considered permissible and had proceeded; two others had not. With regard to technical assistance, 44 requests for participation were deemed in conformity with the resolution; eight other requests were not.

On August 1, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom submitted a letter to the President of the Security Council containing a list of banks domiciled in Iran and their branches and subsidiaries abroad. The list was intended to assist states in their implementation of Paragraph 10 of Resolution 1803, which calls upon all states to exercise vigilance over the activities of financial institutions in their territories with all banks domiciled in Iran, in particular Banks Melli and Saderat, and their branches and subsidiaries abroad, in order to avoid such activities from contributing to Iran's proliferation-sensitive nuclear activities or to Iran's development of nuclear weapons delivery systems.

On September 10, the United States provided a briefing to the 1737 Committee on its efforts to implement Paragraph 10 of Resolution 1803.

The United States provided another briefing to the Sanctions Committee on October 15, regarding its efforts to implement the provisions in Resolutions 1737 and 1803 related to the prohibition on the supply, sale, or transfer of items, materials, equipment, goods, and technology to Iran that could contribute to enrichment-related, reprocessing, or heavy water-related activities, and to the development of nuclear weapons delivery systems.

## **Iraq**

The United States continued its active engagement with the United Nations in 2008 to support Iraq's efforts to build a united, secure, and stable country in the face of ongoing security concerns. The UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) continued to pursue its expanded mandate as defined in Security Council Resolution 1770 (2007) and renewed in Resolution 1830 (2008). UNAMI focused its efforts on electoral assistance, national reconciliation, resolution of disputed internal boundaries (it issued its first set of reports on these on June 5), facilitation of regional and international dialogue and cooperation, assistance to refugees, and efforts to address other humanitarian and development needs. UNAMI also played an active role in the implementation of the International Compact for Iraq (ICI). Launched in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, on May 3, 2007, the ICI is an initiative of the Government of Iraq for a partnership with the international community to achieve a far-reaching, five-year national plan for improved security, political reconciliation, and economic development, with the international community providing debt relief, foreign assistance and soft loans, and expanding trade and investment. ICI meetings are co-chaired by the Government of Iraq and the UN Secretary-General. The first Iraq Compact Annual Ministerial Review Conference was held in Stockholm on May 29, 2008.

The Security Council met on January 21, 2008, to discuss the "Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1770 (2007)" on the fulfillment of the responsibilities of UNAMI. At the meeting U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Zalmay Khalilzad, speaking on behalf of the Multinational Force — Iraq (MNF-I), credited the previous year's military surge and the increased capacity of Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) for the reduction of violence in the country and for turning the tide against al-Qaida.

He also thanked UNAMI for its leadership and for assisting Iraqi development. Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) Staffan De Mistura briefed the Security Council on Iraq's political and security situation and described 2008 as a "window of opportunity." UNAMI's priorities, he explained, were to help Iraq delineate internal boundaries, assist displaced persons who wished to return, and engage in discussions about provincial elections. National dialogue and continued international commitment in Iraq were crucial, he said, to use the window of opportunity.

The Secretary-General issued the second "Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1770 (2007)" on April 22, 2008. The report credited support from the United States and the United Kingdom for bolstering the Government of Iraq's capacity and called for continued efforts for national reconciliation, noting the steps taken in January and February with the adoption of compromise legislation, including the Justice and Accountability Law, the Law on Governorates not Organized into a Region, and the General Amnesty Law. The report also welcomed the decline in violence and the Mahdi Army's freeze on military activities. At the same time, it urged Iraqi authorities to address poverty and to take steps to hold provincial elections by the end of the year.

On April 28, UN Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs B. Lynn Pascoe briefed Security Council members on the Secretary-General's April 22 report. Pascoe, who had just returned from Iraq, reported that Iraqis with whom he spoke appreciated the expanded UN presence in the country and argued that the international community, regardless of previous political positions, had an obligation to help the people of Iraq work toward peace. The United States noted that Iraqi and Coalition forces had achieved a steady decrease in ethno-sectarian violence and urged Iraq's government to seize the opportunity to take increased responsibility for its sovereignty. Ambassador Khalilzad added that the Iraqi Security Forces had grown by 24,000 since January and that the Iraqi Army was expected to grow by 50,000 by the end of 2008.

On June 13, the Security Council met again to discuss the situation in Iraq. Speaking for the MNF-I Ambassador Khalilzad cited "tremendous progress" in securing the country and training the ISF, which had grown to 600,000. He noted that the ISF had assumed control in more than half of Iraq's 18 governorates. In light of this progress, he called on the Government of Iraq to assume more responsibility for the country's reconstruction and development and listed specific steps toward demonstrating this increased capacity: ensure delivery of humanitarian aid and essential services to the Iraqi people; create more jobs and economic growth; work toward political reconciliation; and conduct credible elections. Hoshiyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, reported that the United States and Iraq were negotiating bilateral agreements to transition security responsibilities from the MNF-I to Iraq and to define the two countries' long-term relationship.

The July 28 "Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1770 (2007)" cited continued improvements in the security

situation and noted the increased confidence and capability of the ISF. UNAMI continued its support of the Independent High Electoral Commission in its preparations for governorate council elections scheduled for the end of 2008. (Provincial elections would ultimately be postponed until the following year.) The report also noted that the first Iraq Compact Annual Review Conference in Stockholm was successful and led to agreements on finance, debt relief, and aid effectiveness. UNAMI maintained its supporting role of the ICI and was preparing to conduct a review of ICI management to improve effectiveness.

The Security Council convened on August 6 to discuss Iraq and the Secretary-General's July 28 report. The United States noted that violence remained low even as the MNF-I troops drew down below surge levels. The U.S. Representative warned that in spite of recent gains the situation remained fragile. Al-Qaida in Iraq retained the ability to conduct "sensational, lethal attacks," and the flow of foreign fighters into Iraq persisted. Under Secretary-General Pascoe warned the international community against becoming complacent with the progress made in Iraq and called on Iraqis to build intercommunal trust to consolidate political and security gains.

On August 7, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1830 (2008) to extend UNAMI's mandate for 12 months. The resolution reaffirmed the importance of UNAMI's efforts in strengthening Iraq's democratic institutions, facilitating dialogue, assisting refugees and internally displaced persons, promoting human rights and the rule of law, and engaging other countries in the region. The Security Council decided to review the mandate again in 12 months, or sooner if requested by the Government of Iraq.

On November 6 the Secretary-General released the "Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1830 (2008)", which covered events since the August 7 mandate renewal. The report noted that the security situation remained relatively stable, even as U.S. forces from the surge withdrew. The ISF continued to gain capacity and absorbed 54,000 Sons of Iraq militia fighters into its ranks as part of a process to integrate them into state structures. The MNF-I passed control of Al-Anbar and Babil governorates to the ISF in October, bringing a total of 13 governorates under Iraqi security control. Also noted in the report, the Council of Representatives adopted a long-anticipated provincial election law on September 24, clearing the way for governorate council elections to take place in early 2009. The Presidency Council ratified the legislation on October 7. The report cited national reconciliation as the main priority for UN efforts in Iraq and pointed to the provincial election law as a concrete sign of progress toward reconciliation. The report also highlighted Iraq's progress in funding its own reconstruction but expressed concern over the persistent lack of jobs.

Special Representative of the Secretary-General de Mistura briefed the Security Council on November 14 on the Secretary-General's November 6 report. The Special Representative called on the international community to maintain its support for Iraq's burgeoning democracy and observed that UNAMI's work in assisting in the organization of local elections and its

expanded presence in Iraq required security support from Iraq and member states. U.S. Ambassador Khalilzad, representing the MNF-I, drew attention to the substantial decrease in violence against civilians, ISF, and MNF-I. However, he reiterated the U.S. concern over the influx of foreign fighters into Iraq, particularly from Syria. Ambassador Khalilzad also praised UNAMI for the expansion of its work in Iraq and commended the proposal to build a UN compound in Baghdad. The Iraqi representative stressed ISF's need for additional training and declared that Iraq was "keen to promote a new culture of respect for human rights based on tolerance and mutual acceptance."

A December 7 letter from Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki expressed Iraq's gratitude to the states that had contributed to the MNF-I and, citing the "Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of their Activities during their Temporary Presence in Iraq," reaffirmed Iraq's intention to allow the mandate of the MNF-I to expire on December 31, 2008. Al-Maliki requested that the Security Council renew Resolution 1483 (2003) until December 31, 2009, ensuring that the proceeds of Iraqi oil and natural gas continued to be deposited in the Development Fund for Iraq. The letter further asserted that "the time has come for Iraq to regain its legal and international status prevailing prior to the adoption by the Security Council of [Resolution 661 (1990)] and the subsequent sanctions imposed on it under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations."

On December 22, the Security Council voted unanimously to adopt Resolution 1859 (2008) which, at the Government of Iraq's request, extended the Resolution 1483 arrangements to deposit Iraqi oil and natural gas revenues in the Development Fund for Iraq for 12 months. The resolution also established the Security Council's intention to review all resolutions pertaining to Iraq beginning with Resolution 661, and requested the Secretary-General to report on facts for the Security Council's consideration related to actions necessary to help Iraq gain "international standing equal to that which it held prior to the adoption of such resolutions." The United States welcomed the resolution and agreed that the time was right to review Security Council resolutions on Iraq, recognizing that circumstances in Iraq were "fundamentally different since many of these resolutions were imposed." In light of the progress that Iraq had made the United States was preparing to enter into a new phase of relations with Iraq, guided in part by the new bilateral security agreement between the two countries.

In 2008 the Secretary-General also submitted his "Final Report on the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC)", pursuant to Resolution 1762 (2007). UNMOVIC, whose mandate terminated on June 29, 2007, was a subsidiary body of the Security Council established to monitor and verify Iraq's compliance with its obligations relating to weapons of mass destruction under several Security Council resolutions dating to 1991. The June 9 report noted that UNMOVIC's tenure was "a valuable contribution by the United Nations to international efforts to eliminate and counter threats of weapons of mass destruction." In the final reporting period, UNMOVIC



completed the transfer of its archives, moving them to a UN facility in New York, and disposed of its non-sensitive property, giving some to the Government of Iraq and selling or returning the rest to stock. After the manufacturer declined to buy back sensitive property, such as export-restricted property and the mobile chemical laboratory in Baghdad, the United Nations transferred it to other qualifying UN agencies.

The Secretary-General also issued two reports on Iraq's compliance with its obligations under Security Council Resolution 1284 (1999), which called for the return of "all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals or their remains" and of all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq. The first report, released June 19, revealed that the remains of more Kuwaiti prisoners of war and third-country nationals had been identified since the previous report, bringing the total number to 235. Although authorities had still not located the Kuwaiti archives, the report noted that "Iraq has shown sensitivity and understanding as well as a sincere intention to assist in resolving the outstanding cases." The Secretary-General released his second "1284 report" of the year December 4.

On April 24, the Secretary-General appointed Ambassador Gennady Tarasov of the Russian Federation as the new High-Level Coordinator for the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals or their remains and the return of all Kuwaiti property, including archives, seized by Iraq. In October High-Level Coordinator Tarasov visited Iraq to brief Iraqi officials on the implementation of his mandate. Citing improved security conditions in Iraq, Tarasov pressed for renewed efforts to excavate the remains of Kuwaiti prisoners of war. The Iraqi Minister for Human Rights, who has sole legal authority to exhume graves, explained that a lack of capacity was slowing their efforts. The High-Level Coordinator offered technical assistance from UNAMI, which the Iraqis greeted with appreciation. The Security Council released a press statement on December 10 that expressed its concern at the lack of progress in exhuming victims and supported UNAMI's offer of technical assistance.

## **Lebanon**

The United States continued its active engagement in the United Nations to support the Government of Lebanon as it expanded its sovereignty to all of Lebanese territory. The United States is committed to the full implementation of all UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions regarding Lebanese sovereignty, including UNSC Resolutions 1559 and 1701, as well as full support for the Special Tribunal for Lebanon.

UN Security Council Resolution 1559 (2004) reaffirmed the Security Council's call for strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon, as well as its call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias, and the extension of Lebanese government control over the entire country.

On February 28, the Secretary-General issued his quarterly report on the implementation of Resolution 1701 and the Council heard a briefing on

March 10 from the Secretariat and discussed the report. On April 15, the Council adopted a Presidential Statement in response to the quarterly report and discussion, in which it called upon all concerned parties, in particular those in the region, to intensify their efforts in implementing Resolution 1701, including by fully cooperating with the Secretary-General in this regard. The Council also stressed the importance of and the need to achieve a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on all its relevant Resolutions, including 242 and 338.

On April 21, the Secretary-General issued his seventh semi-annual report on the implementation of Resolution 1559. The report termed Lebanon's inability to elect a president a severe political crisis, both fueling violence and occurring within a larger context of violence, including terrorist attacks, political assassination, and violent demonstrations. It noted that no concrete progress on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lebanon and Syria had been made, although on March 28, Lebanese Prime Minister Fouad Siniora had called publicly for such progress.

The report called on both Syria and Lebanon to take measures to delineate their common border as an important step toward the extension of Lebanese governmental control over its entire territory, as well as regional stability. The report emphasized that evidence appeared to corroborate allegations of the transfer of both arms and fighters from Syria into Lebanon, allegations that Syria denied. It stressed that the continued existence of armed militias, in particular Hizballah and Palestinian militias, was incompatible with the full implementation of Resolution 1559. The Council received a briefing and discussed the report on May 8.

On May 22, the United States joined with other members of the Security Council to issue a Presidential Statement welcoming and strongly supporting the May 21 Doha Agreement, in which Lebanese leaders agreed to elect a president of the republic, establish a national unity cabinet, and ban the use of weapons and violence to settle disputes.

On July 9, the Security Council received a briefing from the Secretariat and discussed the latest quarterly report from the Secretary-General (issued on June 27) on the implementation of Resolution 1701.

On October 16, the Secretary-General released his eighth semi-annual report on the implementation of Resolution 1559. According to the report, Lebanon came to the brink of civil war in the aftermath of the Lebanese Cabinet's May 6 decision declaring Hizballah's secure communications system "illegal and unconstitutional." Coupled with the dismissal of the Chief of Security of the Beirut International Airport, that triggered Hizballah road closures and escalated armed conflict nationwide between pro-government and opposition groups from May 6 through May 14.

The report noted that the May 25, 2008 election of General Michel Sleiman as president following the Doha Agreement, an August Lebanon-Syria summit decision to reinvigorate discussions regarding border issues, and the October 15 memorandum establishing diplomatic relations between

Lebanon and Syria (signed by the respective governments' foreign ministers) were significant steps toward full implementation of Resolution 1559.

Nevertheless, the report noted the persistence of a disturbing pattern of political assassinations, bombings, and attacks, especially against the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF). It found the continuing issue of Hizballah's arms to be a fundamental challenge to the Lebanese government's sovereignty. It also noted, despite the August summit decision, a lack of significant progress on delineation of the Lebanese-Syrian border, which the report called "easily penetrable" and straddled by the paramilitary infrastructures of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command and Fatah al-Intifada. The Security Council met on October 30 to hear a briefing on the report and then held consultations to discuss the report.

On November 18, the Secretary-General released his report on the implementation of Resolution 1701 which the Security Council discussed on November 26 after a briefing from the Special Coordinator of the Secretary-General.

The United States joined with other members of the Security Council to issue a series of press statements condemning individual acts of violence symptomatic of the failure fully to implement Resolution 1559, including the:

- January 8 attack against troops of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon near Saïda, which wounded two Irish peacekeepers;
- January 15 attack against a U.S. diplomatic vehicle in Beirut in which three persons were killed and several injured;
- January 25 assassination of Captain Wissam Eid of the LAF in Beirut;
- An August 13 attack against members of the LAF in Tripoli which resulted in multiple deaths and injuries;
- The September 10 assassination of Lebanese politician Saleh Aridi; and
- A September 29 attack against members of the LAF in Tripoli which resulted in multiple deaths and injuries.

The United States continued to support full implementation of all the provisions of Resolution 1559 to ensure Lebanon's political independence and territorial integrity, as well as the stability of Lebanon and the wider region.

#### **UN Interim Force in Lebanon**

Security Council Resolutions 425 and 426 established the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in March 1978 to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, assist the Government of Lebanon in restoring its authority, and restore international peace and security in the region.

Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006) expanded UNIFIL's authorized force strength to a maximum of 15,000 troops. It also provided that in addition to UNIFIL's original mandate under Resolutions 425 and 426, it would monitor the cessation of hostilities and accompany and support the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) as they deployed throughout the South, including along the Blue Line, as Israel withdrew its armed forces from

Lebanon. UNIFIL was to: coordinate these activities with the Governments of Lebanon and Israel; extend its assistance to help ensure humanitarian access to civilian populations and the voluntary and safe return of displaced persons; assist the LAF in taking steps toward the establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani River of an area free of armed personnel, assets, and weapons other than those of the Government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL; and assist the Government of Lebanon, at its request, in securing its borders and other points of entry.

Though UNIFIL was not authorized to search vehicles or private domiciles for weapons unilaterally unless requested to do so by the Lebanese Armed Forces, if UNIFIL found weapons in plain sight or discovered caches of weapons according to the rules of engagement, it was required to turn them over to the LAF as soon as possible.

The UNIFIL Maritime Task Force (MTF) was the first naval task force to be part of a UN peacekeeping mission. The MTF deployment in October 2006 was requested by the Lebanese government to help the Lebanese Navy secure the country's 200 kilometers of coastline to prevent the unauthorized entry of arms or related materiel by sea into Lebanon, thereby prompting Israel to end its naval blockade of Lebanon. (The MTF oversees a Maritime Area of Interest of 12,000 square nautical miles and an Area of Maritime Operations of 5,000 square nautical miles.)

On August 27, the Security Council extended UNIFIL's mandate for another 12 months in Resolution 1832 and called on all parties to cooperate with the United Nations to achieve a permanent cease-fire and a long-term solution as envisioned in Resolution 1701.

At the end of 2008, UNIFIL had 12,435 troops, with Italy, France, Spain, and Indonesia serving as the largest troop-contributing countries. There were no U.S. personnel assigned to UNIFIL. The MTF consisted of 15 ships and four helicopters in coordination with two LAF Navy boats. UN assessed costs for UNIFIL in 2008 totaled \$680.9 million. The U.S. share totaled \$176.8 million.

### **UN International Independent Investigation Commission**

The UN International Independent Investigation Commission (UNIIC) was established by Security Council Resolution 1595 (2005) to assist Lebanese authorities in investigating the February 14, 2005, terrorist bombing that killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and 19 others. The Security Council approved Resolution 1852 on December 17, extending the Commission's mandate through February 28, 2009, to ensure a seamless transfer between the operations of UNIIC and those of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL) established by Resolution 1757 (2007), scheduled to open March 1, 2009. These resolutions also requested UNIIC to report on the progress of its investigation.

During 2008 UNIIC issued two progress reports on its investigation of the Hariri assassination. Its March 28 report noted the provision of technical assistance to Lebanese authorities examining two additional attacks

targeting members of Lebanon's security forces, bringing the total number of cases for which UNIIIC provided investigative assistance to the Lebanese government to 20. While not explicitly linking these attacks to the assassination of Hariri, the report noted that the network of individuals linked to the Hariri killing was also linked to some of the other cases within the Commission's mandate. The report also noted that the Commission had established that this network existed before Hariri's assassination, had conducted surveillance of Hariri before the killing, was operative on the day of his murder, and continued to exist and operate, at least in part, following the assassination. The report characterized Syrian cooperation, required by Security Council Resolution 1636 (2005), as "generally satisfactory."

The Commission's December 2 report noted that it had acquired new information that might allow it to link additional individuals to the network that carried out the Hariri assassination, as well as information that may help to identify the geographic origin of the suicide bomber. However, it stressed that the Commission must continue to gather evidence that would support an indictment in front of the STL. The link between the Hariri network and other cases under the Commission's mandate was also corroborated. Syrian cooperation was again characterized as "generally satisfactory."

In 2008 the Security Council issued no Presidential Statements regarding events related to the Commission's mandate, though it did issue a January 30 press statement condemning the January 25 bombing which killed Internal Security Forces Captain Wissam Eid. The Security Council made five additional press statements that condemned terrorist attacks not falling under the Commission's mandate.

On March 27, the Security Council issued a press statement welcoming the March 12 submission of the second report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1757 (2007) regarding the establishment of the STL. The Security Council noted substantial progress had been made in establishing the STL, in particular the signing of the headquarters agreement between the United Nations and the Netherlands, the appointment of the prosecutor as well as of the registrar of the Special Tribunal, and the establishment of the management committee.

The third report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1757 (2007), submitted to the Security Council on November 26, noted additional progress concerning personnel appointments, physical arrangements, and funding.

In 2008 the United States pledged an additional \$9 million to help cover start-up and first-year costs of the Tribunal's operation and \$6 million for second-year costs (pending congressional approval), bringing the total U.S. pledge to \$20 million. The United States strongly supported the efforts of UNIIIC and the STL and remained committed to seeing those responsible for the assassination of Rafiq Hariri and others brought to justice.

### **UN Disengagement Observer Force**

The UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) was established by UN Security Council Resolution 350 (1974) in the aftermath of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. UNDOF observed implementation of the Israel-Syria Disengagement Agreement and served U.S. national security interests by maintaining confidence and preventing the escalation of tensions between Israel and Syria.

UNDOF's mission in 2008 remained focused on monitoring the cease-fire between Israel and Syria, supervising the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces in the Golan Heights, and monitoring the areas of separation and limitation between the two countries. In 2008 the security situation in UNDOF's area of operations remained generally calm, though the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council in June and December that the situation in the Middle East remained tense and was likely to remain so unless and until a comprehensive peace settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be reached.

UNDOF continued to operate close to the area of separation with two base camps, 44 permanently manned positions, and 11 observation posts. To carry out its mandate, UNDOF monitored an area of separation some 80 kilometers long and varying in width from approximately 10 kilometers in the center to less than one kilometer in the extreme south. In addition UNDOF operated patrols by day and night. It is assisted by military observers of the UN Truce Supervision Organization's Observer Group Golan.

UNDOF continued to assist the International Committee of the Red Cross with facilities for mail and the passage of persons through the area of separation. Within the means available, medical treatment was provided to the local population on request.

In UNDOF's area of operation, especially in the area of separation, minefields continued to pose a threat to personnel and local inhabitants. UNDOF supported the activities of the UN Children's Fund to promote mine awareness among the civilian population.

The Security Council adopted Resolution 1821 on June 27, renewing the mandate of UNDOF until December 31, and Resolution 1848 on December 12, renewing the mandate of UNDOF until June 30, 2009. At the close of 2008, UNDOF had 1,039 troops assigned, but with no U.S. military personnel. UN assessed costs for UNDOF in 2008 totaled \$23.9 million; the U.S. share totaled \$6.2 million.

### **UN Truce Supervision Organization**

In 2008 the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) continued to maintain a stabilizing presence in the region, including providing military observers and administrative staff to support the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights. UNTSO personnel maintained positions at their patrol bases to fulfill mandate requirements. At Egypt's request the mission also continued to provide a small monitoring team to patrol the Sinai.

UNTSO was the first peacekeeping mission organized by the United Nations. In 1948 the Security Council adopted Resolution 50, which called for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine and instructed the UN mediator, with the assistance of unarmed military observers, to supervise the truce between Israel and its Arab neighbors. These initial military observers then became UNTSO. In 1949 the Security Council adopted Resolution 73, which asked the Secretary-General to “arrange for the continued service of such of the personnel of the present Truce Supervision Organization as may be required in observing and maintaining the cease-fire, and may be necessary in assisting the parties to the Armistice Agreements” between Israel and its four Arab neighbors — Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Following the 1967 Middle East War, UNTSO assumed cease-fire monitoring responsibilities in the Israel-Syria sector and the Suez Canal Zone. In 1972 a similar operation was established in southern Lebanon. Unarmed UNTSO military observers were directed to assist UN peacekeeping forces deployed in the Sinai (1973), on the Golan Heights (1974), and in southern Lebanon (1978).

At the close of 2008, UNTSO had 151 military observers, including three U.S. personnel. UNTSO military observers were organized as follows: Observer Group Lebanon, UN Liaison Office Beirut, Observer Group Golan, Observer Detachment Damascus, Observer Group Egypt, and UNTSO headquarters in Jerusalem. UNTSO’s 2008-2009 annual budget totaled \$31.5 million, of which the U.S. share was \$6.6 million.

## **South Asia**

### **Afghanistan**

On March 20, the Security Council passed Resolution 1806, renewing the mandate of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) for one year and bolstering its role as the central coordinator for all international assistance in Afghanistan. Resolution 1806 further underlined UNAMA’s leadership of international civilian efforts to implement development assistance, cooperate with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), support domestic Afghan reconciliation efforts, promote good governance and the rule of law, provide humanitarian assistance, monitor and promote human rights, prepare for national elections in 2009, and promote regional cooperation.

UNAMA is a Special Political Mission directed and supported by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). To carry out UNAMA’s enhanced mandate, and with strong U.S. support, the UN General Assembly in December approved an increase in UNAMA’s budget of roughly 100 percent to \$168 million and approved an increase in staff of 30 percent to 2,023. UNAMA continued to operate from its headquarters in Kabul and from eight regional offices. UNAMA opened two additional field offices in 2008 (for a total of 11) and planned to use its increased funding to open an additional four field offices in 2009.

The United States welcomed and supported the UN role in leading, with the Government of Afghanistan, the June 2008 Paris International Conference on Afghanistan, which re-energized international support for Afghan reconstruction. More than 60 donors pledged about \$20 billion in foreign assistance to Afghanistan at this conference. The U.S. pledge was \$10.2 billion.

Security remained the responsibility of the UN-mandated, NATO-led, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). The Security Council renewed ISAF's mandate in Resolution 1833 in September 2008. During 2008 ISAF's five regional commands continued to coordinate security operations in all parts of the country with the Afghan National Army (ANA). ISAF also supported the development of the Afghan National Army with training, mentoring, and equipment, and had responsibility for the 26 Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), 12 of which are led by the United States. The U.S.-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) continued its focus on training and counterterrorism operations. In 2008 the United States streamlined its military command structure in Afghanistan by appointing General David McKiernan Commander of U.S. Forces-Afghanistan and bringing most OEF forces under his authority. As General McKiernan also commands ISAF, this re-alignment enhanced the coherence of international military operations in Afghanistan. Afghan, U.S., and international forces continued to promote a counterinsurgency strategy through improved regional security and stability, good governance, and greater economic development.

Afghan National Security Forces were comprised of the ANA, the Afghan National Police (ANP), and the National Directorate of Security (NDS). The ANA continued to expand in size, improve its capabilities, and take on more responsibility for operations alongside Coalition forces. In September 2008 the Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board, under joint UN and Afghan leadership, agreed to expand the Afghan National Army to 134,000 troops. The United States coordinated police and justice-sector training with UNAMA and other international partners. The international community paid ANP salaries through the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan, administered by the UN Development Program.

In coordination with UNAMA, the United States also built 2,700 kilometers of national and provincial roads. Several multi-national projects were underway to build Afghanistan's hydro- and electrical power systems. Education and health care were also U.S. and UN priorities. Over six million children attended school, including almost two million girls, and approximately 82 percent of the population had access to basic health services.

After a record poppy crop in 2007 Afghanistan reduced nationwide poppy cultivation by 19 percent in 2008, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. The Afghan government in 2008 finalized the implementation of arrangements for the development of rule-of-law capacity set out at the July 2007 International Conference on Rule of Law in Afghanistan held in Rome. These arrangements included the preparation of a consolidated National



Justice Sector Strategy (NJSS), the establishment of a National Justice Program to implement the NJSS, and a Provincial Justice Coordination Mechanism (PJCM) to help communicate and coordinate justice reform initiatives between Kabul and the provinces. UNAMA supervised the PJCM, whose coordinators were located at UNAMA offices in key population centers around the country.

The United States also funded the efforts of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to assist returning refugees in Afghanistan. More than five million Afghans have returned since 2002, making it the most successful and largest refugee repatriation in UNHCR's history. Returns amounted to approximately 278,000 in 2008, mainly from Pakistan. UNHCR continued to support returns and also sought to stabilize returnee populations so they did not go back to Iran and Pakistan. UNHCR and the Government of Afghanistan hosted an international conference on refugees on November 19, 2008, to promote a coordinated approach to repatriation and reintegration of refugees and improve tripartite cooperation between Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan.

### **India and Pakistan**

The UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was deployed in January 1949 under UN Security Council Resolution 47 (1948) to supervise the cease-fire agreed between India and Pakistan in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In July 1949 India and Pakistan signed the Karachi Agreement establishing a cease-fire line to be supervised by UN observers. In 1971 hostilities broke out between India and Pakistan. In 1972, following a cease-fire, both agreed on a Line of Control which UNMOGIP monitored. UNMOGIP's functions were to observe and report, investigate complaints of cease-fire violations, and submit findings to the parties and to the UN Secretary-General.

After the 1972 agreement, India took the position that UNMOGIP's mandate had lapsed. Pakistan did not accept India's position. Given the disagreement between the parties on UNMOGIP's mandate, the Secretary-General adopted the position that only a decision of the Security Council could terminate the mandate. The military authorities of Pakistan continued to lodge complaints with UNMOGIP concerning cease-fire violations; recent reports indicate Pakistan's interest that the Mission continue. The military authorities of India have lodged no complaints since January 1972 and restricted the activities of the UN observers on the Indian side of the Line of Control, while continuing to provide accommodation, transport, and other facilities to UNMOGIP.

UNMOGIP sustained its core objective in 2008: keeping peace between India and Pakistan by supervising the Kashmir region. An escalation of violence in Kashmir could have had serious consequences, given both countries' possession of nuclear weapons. UNMOGIP's long-term mandate will not be completed until ownership of Kashmir is decided and a cease-fire no longer is necessary. Political talks on Kashmir between India and Pakistan

proceeded erratically over the past several years. It is in the U.S. interest that tensions between these two counties not escalate because of the threat of a possible nuclear conflict between them. The presence of UNMOGIP forces monitoring the cease-fire contributed to the stability of Kashmir and served as a constant reminder to the people in the region that the international community was concerned with promoting peace in the area.

At the end of 2008 UNMOGIP had 43 military observers, with the Republic of Korea, Croatia, Sweden, and Italy providing the largest number. No U.S. personnel served in it. UNMOGIP's 2008 budget was \$16.15 million. The United States contributes 22 percent.

## **Nepal**

The United States joined other Security Council members in unanimously renewing the mandate of the UN Political Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) for six months on January 23 and again on July 23. UNMIN's mandate, established by Security Council Resolution 1740 (2007), included monitoring and managing the weapons and troops of the Nepalese Army and the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist (CPN-M); monitoring the cease-fire arrangements stipulated in the 2006 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA); and assisting in the preparation and monitoring of elections. In renewing UNMIN's mandate on July 23, the Security Council noted that it expected the size of UNMIN to decrease over the remainder of 2008 as it completed its tasks related to elections support and monitoring troops and weapons.

On April 12, Nepal held elections to its new Constituent Assembly. Observers generally considered the elections free and fair, but noted some problems with irregularities and intimidation. The Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist won a plurality of seats in the Assembly. CPN-M later formed a coalition government in which it held the largest stake. Party leader Pushpa Dahal became the Prime Minister.

The United States offered its full support to UNMIN in carrying out its mandate. UNMIN's Arms Monitoring Office established the Joint Monitoring Coordinating Committee with the participation of senior Nepal Army and CPN-M leaders. The Committee met 29 times in 2008 and proved to be an effective mechanism for dispute resolution. The completion of elections meant that UNMIN drew down its staff as it focused on supporting the CPA.

## **Africa**

### **Burundi**

Following the outbreak of violence in Burundi in late April and early May, the Security Council issued a statement expressing concern about the security situation in Burundi and its intention to consider "possible additional measures in support of peace and stability" in the country. The Security Council issued a press release on May 22 calling for an end to hostilities between government forces and the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu

People/National Liberation Front (Palipehutu-FNL) and full implementation of the 2006 comprehensive cease-fire agreement.

A cease-fire was signed on May 25, and on June 11 an agreement was signed by the Burundian government and the Palipehutu-FNL. Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza and Palipehutu-FNL leader Agathon Rwasa met with Charles Nqakula, facilitator of the Burundi peace process and Minister of Defense of South Africa, on August 18. The two parties signed an accord agreeing to quicken implementation of the 2006 Agreement of Principles and the Comprehensive Cease-fire Agreement (CCA), to release political prisoners and prisoners of war, and to address Palipehutu-FNL's transformation into a political party.

The Security Council issued a press statement welcoming the August 18 agreement to dismantle roadblocks to the revised cease-fire agreements signed in June. It also urged parties to implement the CCA according to the agreed timeline and in line with mutual commitments, called upon parties to demonstrate flexibility in overcoming obstacles hindering implementation of the CCA, and encouraged the Palipehutu-FNL to work with the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism, which was set up in 2006 to oversee the implementation of the CCA.

On August 26, Executive Representative of the Secretary-General for Burundi Youssef Mahmoud, Chair of the Peace Building Commission country-specific configuration on Burundi Ambassador Anders Lidén of Sweden, and Ambassador Augustin Nsanze of Burundi briefed the Security Council. They indicated that while there had been several positive developments, the peace process faced significant challenges requiring coordinated and robust international and regional support.

By October implementation had reached an impasse. Nqakula met with Nkurunziza and Rwasa on October 20. In Kampala Nqakula then briefed leaders of the Regional Peace Initiative for Burundi (composed of Uganda, South Africa, and Tanzania). With South Africa's facilitation mandate ending on December 31, there was pressure to resolve outstanding issues with the previous peace agreement. On December 11, Nqakula told the Security Council that the CCA should be fully in place by December 31.

A deal was reached on December 4, which guaranteed the FNL movement 33 positions in Burundi's administration and the release of FNL political prisoners. The FNL, for its part, agreed both to change its name to rid it of its ethnic reference and to disarm and join the regular army, a process that was not completed by the end of 2008. To assist in implementing the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration portion of the CCA in the face of the deadline for the departure of the South African peacekeepers, the State Department contributed \$110,000 toward construction of a new containment camp.

The United States supported the December 22 adoption of Resolution 1858 extending the mandate of the UN Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) until December 31, 2009.

## **Central African Republic**

The Security Council continued to monitor the situation in the Central African Republic (CAR) in 2008. The CAR continued to experience violent conflict, a difficult humanitarian situation, and human rights violations by government and opposition forces. The political situation stabilized somewhat in the middle of the year when the government and all major opposition groups signed a comprehensive peace agreement, though intermittent conflict continued through the fall, especially in the northwest and north-central regions. The state lacked adequate control over the southeast, where the Lord's Resistance Army (a guerrilla group based in northern Uganda and engaged in armed rebellion against the Ugandan government) made incursions in February. The CAR's economy remained weak. Although gross domestic product continued to grow, it did so at a slower pace than in 2007. The regular payment of civil servants was a leading engine of this growth, while the global economic slowdown, delays in implementing a poverty reduction strategy, and limited production and distribution capabilities of electricity and water (particularly in May) contributed to the economy's slowdown. Although 85,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) returned home in 2008, by year's end the CAR still had 108,000 IDPs and another 101,245 refugees living in neighboring Chad and Cameroon.

At the Security Council's request, the Secretary-General issued two reports on the situation in the Central African Republic and on the activities of the UN Peacebuilding Support Office there. Both reports covered political, security, socio-economic, humanitarian, and human rights developments in the CAR from the end of 2007 to November 2008. During that period, the CAR prepared for the inclusive political dialogue called for by a November 2007 presidential decree. Facilitated by the UN Peacebuilding Support Office in the CAR (BONUCA), the Dialogue Preparatory Committee laid the foundation for the inclusive dialogue and the reconciliation process, which took place December 8-20. The Preparatory Committee's work led to a cease-fire agreement between the Government of the CAR and the Armée Populaire pour la Restauration de la Démocratie (APRD) on May 9, followed by the comprehensive peace agreement in June. In August the APRD and the Union des Forces Vives de la Nation (UFVN), another opposition group, withdrew from the peace process. The Secretary-General, his Special Representative François Lonseny Fall, and BONUCA subsequently assisted in mediating between the government and the rebel groups to ensure their participation in the inclusive dialogue. Despite successful mediation, the Secretary-General remained concerned about splinter groups and smaller rebel factions playing spoiler to the peace process.

The UN Security Council met on December 2, to hear a briefing on the Secretary-General's November 26 report. Special Representative Fall, head of BONUCA, informed members of the Security Council that the inclusive political dialogue, in anticipation of the 2010 general elections, would include 35 key actors in the CAR and would address politics and governance, security and armed groups, and socio-economic development.

Fall also praised the involvement of President El Hadj Omar Bongo-Ondimba of Gabon and Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in bringing the parties together, but urged the international community to do more to facilitate the process of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants. Jan Grauls, head of the UN Peacebuilding Commission's CAR country-specific configuration, also addressed the Security Council. He outlined UN work with the CAR government to develop a priority plan, including 11 projects to be funded by \$10 million from the UN Peacebuilding Fund. The Commission had also worked with the Government of the CAR to decide on three peacebuilding priorities: security-sector reform; the rule of law, human rights, and good governance; and establishment of regional centers of economic activity.

BONUCA also worked with regional bodies to build peace in the CAR. The Mission for the Consolidation of Peace (MICOPAX), operating under the Economic Community of Central African States, deployed troops and police in the country on July 12, taking over for the Multinational Force of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, which had been operating in the country. MICOPAX focused its efforts on achieving stability, reviving political dialogue, and promoting human rights in the CAR.

The UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), mandated by Security Council Resolution 1778 (2007), was active in northeastern CAR in 2008. By December mission strength reached 863 personnel, including 236 UN police officers and 46 military liaison officers in the CAR and Chad. European Union Forces (EUFOR) also deployed troops in northeastern CAR to protect civilians and UN personnel and to facilitate humanitarian aid delivery to those affected by the conflict. EUFOR reached initial operational capacity on March 15 and began its one-year mandate. By the end of the year, EUFOR had 3,700 troops, with 200 in the CAR. The Secretary-General provided the Security Council with four reports on MINURCAT's and EUFOR's progress during 2008. Largely thanks to security achieved by EUFOR, the northeastern CAR remained relatively stable with the largest security threats coming from petty crime and banditry.

The Security Council met on September 24 and unanimously approved Resolution 1834 (2008), renewing MINURCAT's mandate until March 15, 2009. The Security Council also stated its intention to authorize a UN military component to replace EUFOR at the end of its mandate in March 2009. U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs Rosemary DiCarlo expressed the United States' continued support of MINURCAT and praised EUFOR's efforts to provide stability. Concerned over the vulnerable populations of internally displaced persons and refugees in the CAR and Chad, the United States called for a "transition period of sufficient duration and with sufficient interaction between the departing and arriving forces" to ensure continued stability.

On December 12 the Security Council met again to discuss the United Nations' continued mission in Chad and the CAR. At the meeting,

MINURCAT head Victor da Silva Angelo assured members that UN forces were working with EUFOR to prevent any gaps in mission force during the transition. He also reported that 16 states had already shown willingness to provide troops to the UN mission.

## **Chad**

On September 25, 2007, the Security Council approved Resolution 1778 establishing a peacekeeping operation in Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR). The UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) is a multidimensional, humanitarian operation intended to protect refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), conflict-affected Chadians, and humanitarian workers; and to lend support to creating a safe atmosphere conducive to the sustained return of refugees and displaced persons. MINURCAT is also responsible for selecting, training, advising, and supporting a special Chadian police unit tasked with providing security in the refugee- and displaced persons camps. A unique feature of the mission was an agreement between the United Nations and the European Union whereby a European Union Force (EUFOR) would provide security to the mission for one year after reaching initial operating capability on March 15.

On January 28, the European Union launched the military operation EUFOR Chad/Central African Republic, as part of military operation MINURCAT. Although hostilities in Chad in early February delayed deployment of EUFOR troops, the main force headquarters in Abéché and a logistics base in N'Djamena were established. Beginning February 19, EUFOR started carrying out reconnaissance and contact missions in the central and southern parts of its area of operations. In March EUFOR became operational.

On February 1, Chadian rebel forces took up positions around N'Djamena. That night they attacked the capital, surrounding the presidential palace and other strategic locations throughout the city. Through February 3 heavy fighting occurred in N'Djamena until government troops managed to repel the rebel forces, which moved outside the city but continued to threaten to attack the capital. On February 4 the rebels temporarily took control of two nearby towns and split into two columns which then moved toward the Chad-Sudan border. By February 5 all fighting had ceased and Chadian troops had secured the capital.

The Governments of Chad and Sudan signed the Dakar Accord on March 13, agreeing to refrain from supporting each other's rebel groups, establishing a (non-UN) security force along the border, and creating a Contact Group to oversee implementation.

EUFOR reached initial operating capability on March 15 and had 1,790 troops deployed, 1,150 of whom were French. By June EUFOR had deployed 3,048 troops (half were French) of the target level of 3,300.

On April 10 President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, in consultation with Libyan leader Muammar Al-Qadhafi and Gabon's President Omar Bongo, met in Libreville to establish a group to monitor implementation of the

Dakar accord between Chad and the Sudan. Members of the Contact Group – Libya, the Congo, Senegal, Gabon, Eritrea, Chad, Sudan, the Community of Sahel-Saharan States, the Economic Community of Central African States, and the African Union – met at the ministerial level to consider deploying observers and organizing joint patrols to monitor the Chad-Sudan border. Participants urged Presidents Deby of Chad and Al-Bashir of the Sudan to settle tensions peacefully between their countries. No deployment of border monitoring forces occurred and there was little activity by the Contact Group.

Members of the Darfur-based rebel group Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) staged an attack May 11 on the Sudanese capital of Khartoum. Rebels in armored pickups crossed hundreds of miles of desert and assaulted the Khartoum suburb of Omdurman before encountering Sudanese armed forces. The next day Sudan cut diplomatic ties with Chad, blaming the Chadian government for training and supporting JEM.

On June 14 Chadian rebels launched another attack against the Deby government. After the rebels captured the southeastern town of Goz-Beida (engaging Irish EUFOR forces), Chadian armed forces repelled the rebels who returned to bases over the border in Sudan.

In early August, the Governments of Chad and Sudan agreed to resume diplomatic relations but did not exchange ambassadors. Tensions continued, and peace and security along the border was problematic. There was no progress toward political reconciliation in Chad, and the security situation both in Chad and the Central African Republic remained troublesome, with the civilian population frequently subjected to attacks from armed groups, banditry, militia influence in camps, gender-based violence, general lawlessness, and impunity.

On September 24 the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1834 authorizing a one-year extension of MINURCAT. The resolution also expressed the Security Council's intention to authorize in December a UN military presence to replace EUFOR when it departed the region. The Governments of Chad and the Central African Republic agreed to a new force to replace EUFOR. The United Nations proposed a follow-on force of 6,000 troops, 18 utility helicopters, and an armed aerial reconnaissance capability; the preliminary cost estimate for the operation was \$600 million. The Secretary-General also recommended an "over-the-horizon" security force to aid existing forces in the event of a serious security incident. The United States strongly supported extending the mission in light of the regional instability and the number of internally displaced persons and refugees at risk.

Chad and Sudan formally resumed diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors in November. The Contact Group agreed on November 14 to support Libyan-led mediation efforts aimed at normalizing relations between Chad and Sudan. Chadian President Deby alleged that Sudan continued to support rebels attempting to destabilize Chad, while the Sudanese government accused Chad of continuing to support the JEM in its attempt to destabilize Sudan.

In the CAR the emphasis of the political process throughout 2008 was the organization of an inclusive political dialogue to foster national reconciliation and put an end to the cycle of politico-military instability that had affected the country during the past decade. The long-anticipated Inclusive Political Dialogue took place in Bangui December 8-20.

Eastern Chad still faced a potential humanitarian crisis with more than 250,000 Sudanese refugees, over 160,000 IDPs, and hundreds of thousands of people in need of humanitarian assistance. Continuing attacks on humanitarian workers by armed bandits have posed severe challenges to the delivery of humanitarian assistance. In the absence of a ceasefire in Darfur and no reconciliation between Chadian authorities and rebels, refugees and IDPs are likely to remain displaced and dependent on outside assistance.

### **Côte d'Ivoire**

UN Security Council Resolution 1528 (2004) established the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). On January 15, 2008, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1795, extending UNOCI's mandate until July 30. Throughout 2008 UNOCI continued to implement its mandate, including monitoring the security situation throughout Côte d'Ivoire and along its borders with Guinea and Liberia. National presidential and parliamentary elections were scheduled but not held in 2008. Throughout the year there was slow and often sporadic progress on implementing the 2007 Ouagadougou Political Agreement, which provided a plan for documenting potential voters, called "identification," and for disarming former combatants.

The Secretary-General's report of January 2 described measures taken in response to allegations that some members of a contingent of Moroccan troops had patronized prostitutes in violation of UN policy. The entire contingent was moved to a different site and confined to barracks while off duty, with follow-up mechanisms put in place to check for compliance.

By February, all 111 mobile courts had been set up throughout the country and had begun work issuing birth certificates. All Ivorian parties had accepted a revised 2000 electoral list and had agreed that Ivorians would be able to register to vote using only birth certificates. The parties agreed to hold elections by the end of June. By January 24 12,000 government troops had assembled to report for disarmament and demobilization.

By March 3 more than 418,000 birth certificates had been issued to people whose births had not been recorded previously. The Government of Côte d'Ivoire appealed to donors for funding for the French company SAGEM, which the Ivorian parties had agreed would be the "technical operator" for the "identification" process (collecting fingerprints and printing voter identification cards). There were food riots in Côte d'Ivoire in March and early April due to a rapid rise in food prices. The government responded by cutting import duties by 50 percent on some food items for three months.

In April the Ivorian authorities announced that elections would be held on November 30. Approximately \$159 million was still needed to fund SAGEM's services. President Gbagbo issued a presidential decree giving



joint responsibility for identification of voters to SAGEM and the National Statistics Institute. By early April more than 488,000 new birth certificates had been issued. Although the former rebel group Forces Nouvelles (FN) continued to keep some ex-combatants in cantonment, there was no progress on disarming and demobilizing FN forces. By early April, in response to improved security, UNOCI had dismantled 15 of the 17 observation posts established after the abolition of the Zone of Confidence in 2007. The Secretary-General's periodic report was released on April 15, recommending that UNOCI remain at its current strength until after elections. The Group of Experts issues its periodic report on the sanctions regimes on April 14. The Security Council held consultations on Côte d'Ivoire on April 29, including the regular sanctions review. The Security Council also issued a Presidential Statement welcoming the November 30 election date and reaffirming UNOCI's role in certifying each stage of the electoral process. During those consultations the United States expressed concern that the Ivorian government was not obtaining advance approval from the Sanctions Committee to import equipment and training materials for the Ivorian armed forces and police, as required under the arms embargo. The U.S. Delegation also noted with concern that the Republican Guard, the unit of the Ivorian army that guards the president, continued to refuse UNOCI permission to inspect its sites for possible weapons violations.

On May 9 the Permanent Consultative Framework (CPC) established under the Ouagadougou Political Agreement met under the chairmanship of Burkina Faso President Blaise Compaore. The CPC agreed to terminate mobile court operations on May 15, with the exception that any applications awaiting a judge's decision would be processed. As of May 13 the mobile courts had issued almost 586,000 new birth certificates (out of 616,000 applications). The Forces Nouvelles confirmed that cantonment of their troops, the first step toward disarmament, would take at least five months. On May 27 Save the Children-UK issued a report alleging abuses, including trafficking of children, by humanitarian workers and UN peacekeeping personnel in several countries, including Côte d'Ivoire. While identifying some UN peacekeepers as among the abusers, the authors also praised the United Nations for improving its investigative procedures and reporting. UNOCI requested an investigation by the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services.

On June 9 a Security Council delegation met in Abidjan with stakeholders in the Ivorian peace process, and reiterated the Security Council's strong support for secure and credible elections on November 30. President Gbagbo issued an urgent appeal to donors for assistance with the remaining funding gap of approximately \$17 million for election preparations. By early June almost 4,000 FN ex-combatants had reported to cantonments in preparation for disarmament and demobilization.

On July 2 the Ivorian government announced a three-month extension of special tax reductions on basic foodstuffs. On July 29 the Security Council adopted Resolution 1826, renewing UNOCI's mandate until January 31, 2009.

Both the identification process and the disarmament and demobilization program for FN troops fell behind schedule. UNOCI launched a program to fund small projects for ex-combatants who turned in weapons. FN ex-combatants misunderstood the program as a meager demobilization allowance and rioted, demanding additional funds.

In mid-September the identification process to register voters and citizens not yet of voting age was officially launched, with a goal of completing its work by the end of October. In Resolution 1842 of October 29, the Security Council both renewed the mandate of the Panel of Experts and renewed the arms embargo, diamond sanctions, and targeted sanctions (travel ban and assets freeze) on three individuals.

On November 7, in response to the growing likelihood that the November 30 elections would be postponed, the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement calling for elections to be held no later than the end of the spring of 2009. The Permanent Consultative Framework monitoring the implementation of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement publicly confirmed on November 10 that the presidential elections would be postponed. This was the fourth successive year that elections had been postponed. On November 24 dissident FN elements attacked an FN camp, killing at least eight people. UNOCI military and police units moved UN staff to a safe location. Protesters from several Ivorian army units went on strike for back pay and food allowances. One unit took its officers hostage and there were reports of roadblocks, extortion, and kidnapping by protesting soldiers.

On December 19 the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) heads of state renewed Burkina Faso President Compaore's mandate as facilitator of the inter-Ivorian dialogue. On December 22 the Ivorian parties signed a fourth supplementary agreement to the Ouagadougou Political Agreement covering military issues, which was expected to restart the stalled disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program.

UNOCI's strength at the end of 2008 stood at 7,838 troops, 1,127 UN police, and 195 military observers. UN assessments for UNOCI in 2008 totaled \$508 million. The U.S. share totaled \$134 million.

### **Democratic Republic of the Congo**

The UN Security Council established the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) by Resolution 1279 (1999) to help implement the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement between the Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.) and the Governments of Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. MONUC is the largest of all UN peacekeeping missions, with an authorized force of 19,815 military personnel, 760 military observers, 391 police, and 1,050 personnel of formed police units. MONUC worked in close cooperation with the Government of the D.R.C. to (in order of priority): protect civilians, humanitarian personnel and UN personnel and facilities; disarm, demobilize, and monitor resources of foreign and Congolese armed groups; use its monitoring and inspection capabilities to curtail the provision of support to illegal armed groups derived from illicit

trade in natural resources; train and mentor the Congolese army in support of security-sector reform; and support the territorial security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. MONUC also had the mandate, in close cooperation with the Congolese authorities, the UN Country Team, and donors, to support the strengthening of democratic institutions and the rule of law in the D.R.C.

The United States remained actively engaged in the UN Security Council throughout 2008 to support MONUC. The Security Council also took a number of actions, culminating in the renewal of MONUC's mandate on December 22.

On January 30, the Security Council adopted a presidential statement highlighting the success of the Conference for Peace, Security, and Development in North and South Kivu held in Goma January 6-23. The Security Council also expressed support for the agreed cease-fire, called on the D.R.C. and Rwanda to continue to implement fully the joint communiqué that the two countries signed in Nairobi in November 2007 in pursuit of peace in the region, and encouraged the international community and MONUC to support the entire Great Lakes peace process. The Security Council also encouraged MONUC to support the implementation of the statements of commitment, within the limits of capacity and in accordance with its mandate, including with regard to the protection of civilians. Also on January 30 the Security Council adopted a resolution authorizing MONUC to assist the Congolese authorities in organizing, preparing, and conducting local elections.

On February 15 the Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the illicit flow of weapons within and into the D.R.C. and determining that the situation in the D.R.C. continued to constitute a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council also extended the sanctions measures and the mandate of the D.R.C. Group of Experts until March 31.

On March 13 the Security Council adopted a resolution demanding that armed groups and militias in the eastern part of the D.R.C. immediately lay down their arms and turn themselves in to Congolese and MONUC authorities for disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement, and reintegration.

On March 31 the Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the continuing illicit trafficking of weapons in the D.R.C., deciding to extend the arms embargo and its related sanctions regime (with some modifications) until December 31.

On October 29 the Security Council adopted a presidential statement condemning the recent offensive by the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP) in the eastern region of the D.R.C. and demanded that it bring its operations to an end. The Security Council also expressed grave concern about the dramatic humanitarian consequences of the recent fighting and urged all parties to respect fully their obligations under international law to protect civilians, to ensure access to the population in need, and to guarantee the safety and security of humanitarian personnel. The Security Council also called on the authorities of the D.R.C. and Rwandan governments

to take concrete steps to defuse tensions and to restore stability in the region. The Security Council expressed its full support for MONUC, called on it to continue to implement fully its mandate in all aspects (in particular by robust actions to protect civilians at risk) and to deter any attempt to threaten the political process by any armed group. The Security Council expressed its intent to study the Secretariat's request for reinforcements for MONUC.

Due to the resurgence of violence in the D.R.C., the Security Council adopted a resolution on November 20 authorizing a temporary increase of MONUC's authorized military strength by up to 2,785 military personnel and of its formed police unit by up to 300 personnel, for a total of up to 19,815 military personnel, 760 military observers, 391 police, and 1,050 personnel of formed police units through the end of 2009. The Security Council authorized the immediate deployment of the additional capacities until December 31, 2008, and expressed its intention to extend the authorization when renewing MONUC's mandate, underlining that the duration of stay of the additional forces would depend upon the security situation in the Kivus.

On December 22 the Security Council adopted a resolution again condemning the illicit trafficking of weapons in the D.R.C., and deciding to extend the arms embargo and its related sanctions regime (with some modifications) until November 30, 2009. Also on December 22 the Security Council extended MONUC's mandate until December 31, 2009, and called upon MONUC to refocus more sharply on the protection of civilians in the still-embattled eastern provinces.

## **Ethiopia and Eritrea**

On January 15 President Isaias Afwerki of Eritrea sent the President of the Security Council a letter stating the work of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) had been completed by its "virtual demarcation" decision, which Eritrea accepted. Eritrea urged the Security Council to force Ethiopia to withdraw from territory given to Eritrea by the demarcation decision. On January 18 Ethiopian Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin sent a letter to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General rejecting the EEBC's virtual demarcation as inconsistent with international law and the Algiers Agreements, and stated that Eritrea was in breach of the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities after its remilitarization of the Temporary Security Zone.

On January 30, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1798 (2008), which extended the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) mandate by six months until July 31. The Security Council called for parties to show restraint and to refrain from threats or use of force, and demanded that both countries take steps to complete the process launched by the Peace Agreement of December 2000. The Security Council also demanded that Eritrea withdraw troops and military equipment from the Temporary Security Zone and immediately resume fuel shipments to UNMEE. (Eritrea had stopped all shipments in December 2007 as a result of a fuel crisis there.)

On February 1 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon sent a letter to the President of the Security Council warning that if Eritrean authorities did not reinstate fuel supplies to UNMEE by February 6, he would be compelled to instruct UNMEE to begin relocating the personnel and equipment from Eritrea to avoid total demobilization of the Mission and to ensure the safety and security of UN personnel.

UNMEE began in mid-February to temporarily relocate personnel and equipment from Eritrea to Ethiopia. On February 15 the Security Council issued a presidential statement condemning the lack of cooperation from the Eritrean government and calling for it to end its restrictions on the Mission.

In a report made public March 6, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said Eritrea's restrictions on the activities of UNMEE breached the fundamental principles of peacekeeping and raised serious implications for the safety and security of "blue helmets" deployed around the world. Calling Eritrea's hindrance of the temporary relocation of UNMEE peacekeepers unacceptable, he stated that Eritrea had an obligation under an agreement signed in 2000 to treat the peacekeepers with respect and dignity, to guarantee their safety and security, and to ensure their right to move freely and perform their mandated tasks. He stressed that Eritrea had placed the Mission in an untenable situation by repeatedly obstructing the relocation efforts.

On March 11, UNMEE reported that more than 700 peacekeepers temporarily relocated from Eritrea to their home countries, including 397 Jordanians and 305 Indian troops.

The United Nations released a special report of the Secretary-General on UNMEE on April 7. In the report the Secretary-General outlined four options for the future of UNMEE, including: allowing the Mission to resume unchanged if Eritrea lifted all restrictions and resumed fuel supplies to the Mission and allowed it to perform the tasks envisaged in the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement of 2000; terminating the Mission; deploying a small observer mission to the border area to defuse tensions between the armed forces of Ethiopia and Eritrea; and setting up liaison offices in the two capitals, Addis Ababa and Asmara, to allow the United Nations to remain ready to help the parties implement their peace agreement from 2000, including the demarcation of the border. In the report the Secretary-General outlined the advantages and disadvantages of the various options, warning that none was ideal: all had serious risks and would not resolve the impasse created by the Eritrean restrictions, and each had implications for the Temporary Security Zone. Ban urged Ethiopia and Eritrea to "take into account the serious consequences of the continued stalemate and accept the assistance of the Security Council and my good offices in fully implementing the agreements they have entered into." He said he would submit a further report to the Council before July 31, when the current mandate of UNMEE would expire, detailing his ongoing consultations with all the parties.

On April 30 the President of the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement, noting that Eritrea's obstructions toward UNMEE had undermined the basis of the Mission's mandate and compelled UNMEE to

relocate temporarily. The statement also noted that the Security Council would decide on the terms of a future UN engagement and on the future of UNMEE.

On May 27, in a speech marking the country's 17th anniversary of independence, President Isaias of Eritrea opined that UNMEE was irrelevant and dead, and he further blamed the United States for the past impasse on the ruling of the Boundary Commission delimiting the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia. He further claimed the United States was now calling into question the legality of the Commission decision by raising questions about its authority.

The Security Council adopted a resolution on July 30, terminating the mandate of UNMEE effective the next day. The United States supported terminating the Mission based on the abusive acts by Eritrea on UNMEE personnel, the negative precedent that Eritrea could set for future peacekeeping operations, and the inability of UNMEE to fulfill its mandate. (The last UNMEE troops withdrew from Eritrea in January 2009.)

### **Guinea-Bissau**

The political climate in Guinea-Bissau remained tense in 2008. Despite the existence of an inclusive government, relations worsened between two of the political parties that were signatories to the stability pact — the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and the Social Renewal Party (PRS). Guinea-Bissau held successful legislative elections in November that were regrettably followed by an attack on the presidential palace by a group of mutinous soldiers. The PAIGC government took office in December and selected Carlos Gomes Junior as the new Prime Minister. The UN Peacebuilding Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) assisted in managing the political transition and in building trust among national stakeholders and international partners.

In a March 27 press statement, Security Council members appealed to the international community to coordinate efforts on improving Guinea-Bissau's security sector so that it could better address organized crime and drug trafficking. On June 25, Antonio Maria Costa, Executive Director of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, told the Security Council that drug trafficking had become an "acute threat" to regional security in West Africa.

On October 1, Guinea-Bissau's government adopted a strategic peacebuilding framework that outlined reforms to law enforcement, the security sector, economic policy, and public administration. On October 7, U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs Ambassador Rosemary DiCarlo remarked during a Security Council briefing that while she welcomed progress on the national electoral process, she remained concerned that the growing drug trade could undermine democratic consolidation as well as economic development efforts. She also raised the issue of a Venezuelan plane that landed and was subsequently unloaded by military forces, and urged the Government of Guinea-Bissau to disclose fully what had transpired.

The Security Council agreed on October 15, to a presidential statement that called on all domestic actors to ensure that the November 16 legislative elections occurred in a manner that was transparent, free, and fair. The Security Council also requested that the government work together with its partners to tackle the cholera epidemic as well as rising food and fuel prices.

In a press statement on November 25, the Security Council condemned in the strongest terms the attacks of military elements on the President's residence. Stressing that the international community would not accept a return to violence, the Security Council urged all domestic actors to mediate disputes peacefully.

The Security Council released a press statement on December 11, that welcomed an "Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Ministerial Conference on Drug Trafficking as a Security Threat to West Africa," which had taken place in late October and resulted in a draft Political Declaration and Regional Action Plan. This statement also welcomed the creation of the National Commission on Human Rights of Guinea-Bissau.

## **Liberia**

The UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established by UN Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003) to support the implementation of the cease-fire agreement and peace process in Liberia. By unanimously adopting Resolution 1777 (2007), the Security Council extended UNMIL's mandate through September 30.

The new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ellen Margrethe Loej of Denmark, arrived in Liberia on January 16. On January 29 a French naval vessel intercepted and boarded a Liberian-flagged merchant ship with an all-Ghanaian crew in international waters about 500 kilometers south of Liberia. The merchant ship had an unknown destination and was carrying almost 2.5 tons of cocaine. The French handed over the ship, narcotics, and crew to Liberian authorities. Meanwhile the trial of former Liberian president Charles Taylor had resumed in The Hague on January 7.

On February 13 UNMIL troops and UN police assisted Liberian National Police (LNP) in restoring order after a mob of approximately 500 people attacked and burned a police station in Nimba County, demanding the release of suspects in a murder case. At least one Liberian citizen was killed in the attack; several people, including UN peacekeepers and LNP officers, were injured.

The Secretary-General's periodic report was issued on March 19. While it reported steady progress and continuing stability, it noted that progress in the security sector was slower than hoped, and expressed concern about corruption and high unemployment levels. Eight days before that about 30 Liberian employees of UNMIL set two UNMIL vehicles on fire while protesting a dispute over wages. Two UNMIL passengers in the vehicles sustained serious injuries. Seventeen protesters were detained and handed over to the LNP.

The Security Council held consultations on Liberia on April 11. Also in April, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visited Liberia while touring West Africa.

In May, the Government of Liberia and UNMIL launched a nationwide rape awareness campaign. On May 9 a five-day National Women's Conference adopted a resolution laying out strategies for issues including sexual abuse in schools and safe houses for victims of sexual violence. In following months there was a substantial increase in the number of incidents reported to police.

On June 18, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1819, drafted by the United States, extending the mandate of the Liberia Panel of Experts until December 20. That followed the official reopening of Liberia's largest prison by UNMIL and the Government of Liberia on June 14.

The Secretary-General issued his periodic report on Liberia on August 15. Following an extensive security review, the report concluded that the primary threat to Liberian security was internal crime and unrest arising from such factors as unemployment and land disputes. The report recommended a slight acceleration in the pace of military drawdown, accompanied by an increase of two formed police units (245 additional police officers). On August 24, UNMIL assisted the LNP in repelling an attack by 80 youths on a rural police depot. On August 25, a joint UNMIL-LNP anti-drug operation resulted in the destruction of five marijuana farms and the arrest of six people in Bong County.

On September 29, the Security Council unanimously adopted the U.S.-drafted Resolution 1836, extending UNMIL's mandate until September 30, 2009. The resolution endorsed the recommendations on military and police strength contained in the Secretary-General's August report. Also in September President Sirleaf swore in the five-member Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission, and unveiled the comprehensive Civil Service Reform Strategy (CSRS). The three-year CSRS included pay and pension reforms, right-sizing, gender equity, and a set of management reforms.

In October the Secretary-General appointed Lieutenant General Zahirul Alam of Bangladesh as UNMIL's new Force Commander. General Alam replaced Nigerian Lieutenant General Obiakor, who went to New York to serve as Military Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. On October 9, President Sirleaf dismissed the chairman and several directors of the Liberia Electricity Corporation for mismanagement of revenues. On October 13, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission released a report concluding that land and property disputes posed a threat to Liberia's long-term stability. Also in October UNMIL handed over to the LNP a renovated police station and newly built-unit for Women and Child Protection activities.

In mid-November UN Police and UNMIL troops assisted the LNP in restoring order when a land dispute in Nimba County resulted in possibly one death, six injuries, and the burning of houses and other property.

On December 19, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1854, renewing the mandate of the Panel of Experts and extending



the arms embargo and targeted sanctions against individuals (assets freeze and travel ban) for an additional 12 months. On December 1, 202 prisoners escaped from the Central Prison in Monrovia. The prisoners, protesting overcrowding and delays in court dates, pushed through a UN Police unit guarding the gates; UNMIL used tear gas and fired warning shots. The LNP set up roadblocks and recaptured close to 70 prisoners within a few hours. Sixty-one more were recaptured within a few days. There was a significant surge in armed robbery in Monrovia following the escape. The Liberian government issued back pay for corrections officers and made arrangements to hold court hearings at the prison, in an effort to alleviate conditions that led to the breakout. On December 3, a criminal court with exclusive jurisdiction over cases of sexual and gender-based violence was opened in Monrovia. On December 17, approximately 100 former personnel of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) staged a violent protest in Monrovia over arrears in benefits. An LNP officer was injured and an UNMIL vehicle damaged. UNMIL troops restored order.

During 2008 2,000 AFL members completed basic training under a U.S.-funded program to recruit, train, and equip AFL troops. Two AFL battalions were activated. The final Officer Candidate School class graduated in December. The U.S. program provided specialty training in a wide range of military occupations, including for the new Liberian Coast Guard, and trained non-commissioned officers as well. The United States decided to extend a mentoring program for the AFL training brigade for an additional six months to ensure Liberia's own capacity for training.

During the year the United Nations also continued training and mentoring LNP officers. This included specialized training on Women and Child Protection, as well as firearms training for an Emergency Response Unit (ERU). In October ERU graduates completed training at the National Police Academy and deployed to their interim base at LNP headquarters in Monrovia.

UNMIL's strength at the end of 2008 stood at 10,607 troops, 1,066 UN police, and 180 military observers, including 6 troops, 15 UN police officers, and 4 military observers from the United States. UN assessments for UNMIL in 2008 totaled \$621 million. The U.S. share totaled \$164 million.

## **Sierra Leone**

Despite the end of its 11-year civil war in 2002, Sierra Leone remains a fragile state. While developments in 2008 were generally positive, Sierra Leone needed to remain focused on addressing the root causes of the past conflict, including promoting good governance and anti-corruption efforts, economic recovery, better access to justice, and human rights.

In late December 2007 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1793, extending the mandate of the UN Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) through September 30, 2008. UNIOSIL had been established in January 2006 in accordance with Security Council Resolution 1620 (2005) to help consolidate peace in the country, enhance development, ensure human rights, and build capacity to hold free and fair elections in 2007. UNIOSIL

was the successor to the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), originally established in 1999 and which completed its mandate in December 2005. The Secretary-General submitted a completion strategy for UNIOSIL to the Security Council on January 31. The Security Council on February 28, requested that the Secretary-General include further information on the drawdown of UNIOSIL between local elections scheduled for July 5 and the completion of the mission in September.

Assistant Secretary-General Dmitry Titov briefed the Security Council on May 7 on the Secretary-General's latest report. He noted that the situation was generally calm, but that there were concerns about tensions between supporters of the ruling party (All People's Congress) and the main opposition (Sierra Leone People's Party). He also elaborated on the proposed functions for the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office (UNIPSIL). Ambassador Frank Majoor of the Netherlands, Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) Country-Specific Meetings on Sierra Leone, also briefed the Security Council, identifying a number of challenges for Sierra Leone.

The PBC reviewed the Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework on June 19, which called for continued international support for the local council elections, recommended the development of a strategy for the Sierra Leonean energy sector, and encouraged greater international assistance to help Sierra Leone develop its agricultural and private sectors.

On August 4 the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1829, authorizing UNIPSIL as the follow-on peacebuilding to replace UNIOSIL for a period of one year commencing October 1. Michael v. der Schulenburg was appointed Acting Executive Representative of the Secretary-General in Sierra Leone. The United States supported this resolution.

In early January the Special Court for Sierra Leone resumed the trial of former Liberian president Charles Taylor at The Hague with the introduction of the first prosecution witness. On February 22, the appeals chamber upheld convictions of all defendants in the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council case.

## **Somalia**

The UN Security Council increased its involvement in Somalia in 2008, adopting 10 resolutions (all unanimous), two Presidential Statements, and two press statements. The situation in Somalia remained highly unstable in 2008. A peace and reconciliation agreement, the "Djibouti Agreement," was signed on August 19, which the Security Council welcomed in a Presidential Statement adopted on September 4. The October 25 "Cessation of Hostilities Agreement," coupled with the agreement to form a unity government in Djibouti between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia (ARS), created a political process to establish a broad-based parliament and unity government and improve the security situation. However, the operations of extremist groups opposed to the political process, including the U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organization al-Shabaab, ensured that the security situation remained dire and

continued to threaten delivery of humanitarian aid to 3.2 million people (as of December 16). In addition to the security situation on land, piracy off the coast of Somalia also proved to be a significant obstacle to delivery of humanitarian aid.

On February 20, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1801, which extended authorization of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) until August 20, and authorized the Mission to take all necessary measures, as appropriate, to carry out its mandate as set out in Resolution 1772 (2007). The United States continued to provide AMISOM with equipment, logistical support, and airlift; and provided communications equipment for the Mission's headquarters in Addis Ababa. Resolution 1801 also encouraged member states to be vigilant against piracy and to seek to protect merchant shipping, especially ships delivering humanitarian aid.

On April 29, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1811, which extended by six months the mandate of the UN Security Council Somalia Sanctions Committee's Monitoring Group. This group's mandate included investigating violations of the arms embargo laid out in Resolution 733 (1992). The Security Council adopted Resolution 1814 on May 15, which endorsed the Secretary-General's strategy to integrate the political, security, and programmatic efforts of the United Nations in Somalia. The resolution also decided that the UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) would provide support to the Transitional Federal Institutions of Somalia in their efforts to create a constitution, hold a subsequent referendum, and hold a democratic election in 2009, while endorsing Secretary-General Ban's suggestion that UNPOS move to the capital, Mogadishu, as soon as security conditions permitted.

On June 2, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1816. This resolution condemned all piracy and armed robbery off the coast of Somalia and authorized states, in cooperation with the TFG, to use "all necessary means" to combat piracy in international waters off the coast and within Somalia's territorial waters consistent with international law for a period of six months. In response to some Security Council members' concerns, the resolution also underlined that the text referred solely to the situation in Somalia, which lacks current capacity to patrol for and try pirates, and did not establish new customary international law. Meanwhile on July 8, the Security Council released a press statement condemning the killing of Ali Osman Ahmed, UN Development Program Officer in Charge in Somalia, as well as the wounding of others.

The Security Council adopted Resolution 1831 on August 19, renewing AMISOM's authorization for an additional six months while emphasizing that the Mission should provide security to key infrastructure and establish a secure environment for the provision of humanitarian assistance. Also, the resolution urged member states to provide resources, troops, and/or services to ensure the full deployment of AMISOM.

On October 7, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1838 which was co-sponsored by the United States and which, under Chapter VII of the

UN Charter, called upon member states operating naval vessels and military aircraft in the area to “take part actively in the fight against piracy,” and to do so on the high seas and in the airspace off the coast of Somalia. On October 30, the Security Council adopted a Presidential Statement that condemned in the “strongest terms” the terrorist attacks that resulted in multiple casualties on UN Development Program and government offices in Somaliland and Puntland.

The Security Council adopted on November 20 Resolution 1844, which expanded the Somalia sanctions regime from a comprehensive arms embargo to include targeted measures. This resolution authorized the Somalia Sanctions Committee to designate – for a worldwide asset freeze and travel ban – individuals and entities that threatened the peace process, obstructed the delivery of humanitarian aid, or violated the arms embargo. Also on November 20, the Security Council issued a press statement that emphasized that the progress on an inclusive political process was key to improving the security and humanitarian situation in the country, and that urged actors not yet parties to the Djibouti Agreement to become part of this process as soon as possible. A statement made later that day by U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs Ambassador Rosemary DiCarlo stressed that the international community must bolster AMISOM’s efforts to stabilize the security situation in the country and plan for a multinational force or a peacekeeping operation if contributions for a multinational force were not sufficient.

On December 2, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1846 to extend the period in which member states could use “all necessary means” to fight piracy off the Somali coast for 12 additional months. The resolution welcomed efforts by the United States and others to combat the problem, and called upon states, the International Maritime Organization, and shipping and insurance firms to provide technical assistance to ships, to the Somali government, and to nearby coastal states to deal with against attack. It also noted that the 1988 Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Traffic (SUA) could be a legal mechanism for prosecuting persons responsible for or suspected of seizing or exercising control over a ship by force or threat thereof, and urged states party to the SUA Convention to implement their obligations fully.

On December 16, at a ministerial meeting of the Security Council attended by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1851, which allowed states and regional organizations combating piracy off the coast of Somalia to take all necessary measures “appropriate in Somalia” for which the TFG had provided advance notification to the Secretary-General to combat piracy. This resolution allowed certain states to enter Somali territory and air-space to suppress acts of piracy. The resolution encouraged states to develop an international cooperation mechanism to allow for greater cooperation between states combating piracy off the Somali coast. The resolution also urged all states to develop the capacity of regional states to ensure the effective prosecution of pirates. On December 18, the Security

Council adopted Resolution 1853 authorizing the re-establishment for one year of the Somalia Sanctions Committee's Monitoring Group. The resolution expanded the Monitoring Group's mandate and added another expert to assist in the investigations of violations of the sanctions.

### **Sudan: UN Mission**

UN Security Council Resolution 1590 (2005) authorized the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) to support implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between North and South Sudan along with a number of tasks associated with implementation. The resolution authorized the deployment of up to 10,000 military personnel and 715 civilian police. Security Council Resolution 1812 of April 30, extended the mandate through April 30, 2009. UNMIS reported that by early January, 93 percent of authorized forces had deployed in the UNMIS area of operations, including 544 military observers, 191 staff officers, and 8,532 troops.

CPA progress was slow and sporadic in 2008. A number of unresolved issues remained, including release of the national census results, preparations for holding elections, the Abyei and north-south boundary disputes, enactment of CPA-mandated legislation, and implementation of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program. The United States, an original signatory to the CPA, remained both an active and staunch supporter of full CPA implementation and the largest international donor to Sudan.

The area along the north-south border remained volatile in 2008. In May fighting broke out in Abyei, a disputed oil-rich region near the border. Elements of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) engaged in pitched battles that ultimately killed 89 and displaced 50,000 people. Abyei suffered extensive damage from the fighting. UNMIS received substantial criticism in the aftermath of the fighting, with many claiming UNMIS failed to take action to protect civilians caught between the two fighting factions. In response UNMIS noted it had protected 100 civilians and evacuated all UN and humanitarian staff during the fighting. UNMIS also noted it did not have a robust intervention capability that would have allowed it to engage forces armed with heavy weaponry.

In an attempt to address insecurity in the Abyei area, on August 8 appointments of the chief administrator and the deputy for the Abyei Interim Administration took effect in accordance with the Abyei Road Map Agreement (concluded between the parties after the May violence) and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. In October Sudanese President Bashir appointed the remaining members of the Abyei Executive and Area Councils pursuant to the Road Map; however, the Government of National Unity did not provide required operating funds to the Interim Administration. The failure of the Sudanese government to fund the Interim Administration prevented it from reaching full operational capacity and from laying the necessary groundwork to encourage voluntary returns to Abyei.

On August 16, UNMIS received a formal, written request for electoral assistance from the Government of Southern Sudan. UNMIS confirmed it would assist the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Government of Southern Sudan, consistent with the Mission's mandate. Although a parallel request from authorities in Khartoum was expected, none came during 2008. UNMIS strengthened staffing to respond to the request. On November 17, the Sudanese government finally approved all members of the National Electoral Commission, but elections as contemplated by the CPA continued to be problematic.

There was little progress in preparation for national elections, and the late establishment of the National Electoral Commission was a major hindrance. The NEC did not have the necessary resources, procedures, or infrastructure to conduct a national election, and holding elections in the infrastructure-poor South and conflict-affected Darfur areas would be particularly challenging. Nevertheless, the Commission intended to go forward with elections planning.

On September 9, the National Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Coordination Council conducted a pilot disarmament and demobilization. UNMIS announced the formal program would begin in Blue Nile State, then in Southern Kordofan, and gradually throughout the country. International donors pledged approximately \$90 million for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program, but tough economic times made it an increasingly difficult task to find employment for those surrendering arms.

There were clashes between the SPLA and elements of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). LRA attacks in the Democratic Republic of the Congo displaced approximately 5,000 Congolese into southern Sudan. The Government of Southern Sudan participated in a joint operation with armed forces from Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to combat LRA activities.

In November Chad and Sudan formally resumed diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors. On November 17, the Government of Sudan launched a crackdown on journalists, arresting 70 reporters protesting for press freedom.

Violence erupted again in the disputed Abyei in late 2008, proving the area remained a fragile flashpoint. On December 12, a gun battle broke out in Abyei between elements of the SAF and SPLM, resulting in the deaths of two SAF personnel. Reportedly, UNMIS' immediate reaction was to withdraw to its compound. Tribal conflicts continued to be a significant security problem in 2008. Violent tribal conflicts in November and December resulted in 22 deaths and the displacement of more than 7,000 persons. Seasonal migration increased the potential for tribal conflict, particularly in the border areas.

At the end of 2008, the lack of mutual confidence and trust between the SPLM and the National Congress Party remained a major impediment to the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. A number of potential spoilers to CPA implementation also remained. Unresolved issues

that could spark conflict included the disputed Abyei region, unrest in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states, longstanding tensions along the north-south border, border demarcation, oil revenue wealth sharing, and elections.

### **Sudan: African Union–UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur**

The United Nations assumed responsibility for Darfur peacekeeping from the African Union on January 1, as provided by UN Security Council Resolution 1769 (2007). The United States and other international partners donated the facilities and equipment they had previously provided to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), including camps for 9,000 personnel, two logistics operating bases, and hundreds of pieces of construction equipment, vehicles, and communications equipment. In January the United States also created a \$100-million program to help equip and train 6,000 African personnel for deployment to the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). The United States also built UNAMID's first headquarters in Darfur.

The United States abstained on Resolution 1828 (2008), which extended the mandate of UNAMID for one year, with 14 votes in favor. While welcoming and expressing strong support for the mandate extension, the United States abstained because of concerns that language in the resolution – referencing an African Union communiqué calling for the deferral of an International Criminal Court arrest warrant – would send the wrong message to President Umar al-Bashir of Sudan and undermine efforts to bring him and others to justice.

UNAMID's mandate is focused on contributing to, *inter alia*: providing security for humanitarian assistance and workers; protecting civilians; assisting the sustainable return of internally displaced persons and refugees; promoting and protecting human rights and the rule of law; and monitoring, verifying, and supporting implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement and other agreements.

In 2008 the presence of UNAMID troops increased the general security situation in Darfur. However, at the end of 2008 UNAMID had deployed only 63 percent of its total authorized military strength and 58 percent of its authorized total strength, which constrained its ability to execute its mandate fully. However, cooperation on deployment between the Government of Sudan and the United Nations improved as a result of the formation of a tripartite mechanism between the African Union, the United Nations, and the Government of Sudan, established through the leadership of Under Secretary-General for the UN Department of Field Services Susanna Malcorra.

At a Security Council meeting on January 11, the United States supported a Presidential Statement condemning in the strongest possible terms the January 7 attack by elements of the Sudanese Armed Forces on a UNAMID supply convoy. At a May 13 Security Council meeting the United States similarly supported a Presidential Statement condemning the attacks

perpetrated on May 10 in Omdurman by the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) against the Sudanese government, and urging all parties to cease violence immediately.

At a Security Council meeting on June 16 the United States supported a Presidential Statement noting the efforts made by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court to bring to justice the perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur, and urging the Government of Sudan and all other parties to the conflict in Darfur to cooperate fully with the Court to end impunity for crimes committed in Darfur.

On July 14, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, charged Sudan's President Umar Hassan al-Bashir with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

At a Security Council meeting on July 16 the United States supported a Presidential Statement condemning in the strongest possible terms the July 8 attack on a UNAMID military and police convoy that killed seven peacekeepers and wounded 22 United Nations/African Union personnel. The Security Council was particularly concerned that the attack was premeditated, deliberate, and intended to inflict casualties.

On October 15, the United States joined consensus on UN Security Council Resolution 1841 (2008), which extended by one year the mandate of the of the Sudan Panel of Experts (POE), a team responsible for monitoring the sanctions measures (an arms embargo for Darfur plus a travel ban and asset freeze on designated individuals) imposed in Resolution 1591 (2005).

## **Western Sahara**

UN Security Council Resolution 690 (1991) established the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (known by its French abbreviation, MINURSO) in accordance with the settlement proposals accepted in August 1988 between the Government of Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (Frente Polisario). MINURSO's mandate included monitoring the cease-fire, verifying the reduction of Moroccan forces in the territory, monitoring the confinement of Moroccan and Polisario forces to designated locations, taking steps with the parties to secure the release of all Western Sahara political prisoners and detainees, overseeing the exchange of prisoners of war, implementing a repatriation program, identifying and registering qualified voters, and organizing a free and fair referendum on the status of the territory as well as publishing the results.

As of December 31, MINURSO consisted of 20 troops, 6 police personnel, and 197 military observers. The overall situation in MINURSO's area of responsibility remained generally calm throughout 2008. The military component of MINURSO continued to monitor the cease-fire, which took effect September 6, 1991, in accordance with Military Agreement No. 1 between the Royal Moroccan Army and MINURSO on the one hand, and the Frente Polisario military forces and MINURSO on the other. MINURSO continued to enjoy good relations with both the Royal Moroccan Army and the



Frente Polisario armed forces. However, both sides continued to refrain from dealing directly with one another. All known contact between the two armed forces took the form of written communication with MINURSO.

A confidence-building program led by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to facilitate family visits across the berm (a large earthen wall constructed by Morocco as a defensive measure extending the length of the territory) continued to be implemented successfully in coordination with MINURSO and in cooperation with the parties concerned. MINURSO continued to play an important role in supporting the implementation of the program, including by providing aircraft, personnel, and ground transportation.

On April 20, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1813, renewing MINURSO's mandate until April 30, 2009. Previous mandate renewals had occurred every six months. The Security Council also called upon the parties to continue to show political will and to enter a more intensive and substantive phase of negotiations.

The United Nations did not renew the contract of the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy for Western Sahara, Peter van Walsum, which expired on August 21.

Throughout 2008 MINURSO remained an important means of encouraging the peaceful resolution of the Western Sahara conflict. The Mission successfully monitored the cease-fire and prevented a return to open conflict between Morocco and the Polisario.

## **Zimbabwe**

The United States sought to engage the UN Security Council on Zimbabwe in 2008. The United States lobbied to hold two informal consultations on Zimbabwe on April 29 and June 12. UN Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs Lynn Pascoe briefed the Security Council on the crisis in Zimbabwe at both consultations.

On June 5, after an incident in which American and British diplomats and locally employed staff of the U.S. Embassy in Harare were threatened and detained by government security forces and supporters for several hours at a roadblock outside Harare, the United States secured consensus on a UN Security Council press statement which expressed the Security Council's concern over the incident and called for full implementation of the Vienna Convention.

On June 19 Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice hosted a roundtable in New York to discuss the violence and humanitarian situation in Zimbabwe with members of the Security Council and other UN members. This meeting was co-chaired with Foreign Minister Bassole of Burkina Faso. Secretary Rice expressed strong concern about intimidation and violence against Mugabe regime opponents, the Government of Zimbabwe's severe restrictions on the provision of humanitarian assistance for the people of Zimbabwe, and conditions in Zimbabwe that prevented a free and fair presidential run-off election on June 27.

On June 22 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon made a statement expressing his deep regret that, despite the continued appeals of the international community, the government of Zimbabwe had failed to create the conditions necessary for free and fair run-off elections. “The circumstances that led to the withdrawal of Opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai today from the presidential elections represents a deeply distressing development that does not bode well for the future of democracy in Zimbabwe.” Ban called for an immediate end to the violence and intimidation that had marred the election and done a great disservice to the people of Zimbabwe.

While holding the Presidency of the Security Council, on June 23 the United States secured the first formal Security Council meeting on Zimbabwe, at which UN Under Secretary-General Pascoe again briefed the members. Pascoe said he called for the elections to be postponed, as “conditions for a free and fair presidential run-off election did not exist in Zimbabwe.” Working with the U.K. and South African UN Missions, the United States obtained consensus on a Security Council Presidential Statement on Zimbabwe. The June 23 statement made clear that the campaign of violence and the restrictions on the political opposition made it impossible for a free and fair election to take place on June 27; the statement also committed the Security Council to continue to monitor the situation closely and requested the Secretary-General to report on ongoing regional and international efforts to resolve the crisis.

Prior to the June 27 election, after repeated urging by the United States and other Security Council delegations, Secretary-General Ban sent a Special Envoy, Assistant-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Haile Menkarios, to Zimbabwe to report on the situation and to engage with the government and the opposition in support of regional mediation efforts. Despite international outcry Mugabe held the run-off election, which was characterized as a sham by many governments, including the United States.

Deputy Secretary-General Asha-Rose Migiro subsequently briefed the Security Council on July 8, describing the Zimbabwean election as flawed and its results as illegitimate, and underlining that the situation and its possible consequences had the potential to affect regional peace and security. Her briefing helped strengthen U.S. arguments in favor of a more active Security Council role. The Deputy Secretary-General called the situation in Zimbabwe the “single greatest challenge to regional stability in southern Africa.”

The Secretary-General supported calls for a government of national unity as a way forward. He expressed support for the efforts of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union’s call for establishing a facilitation mechanism on the ground in Zimbabwe.

In early July the United States sought a strong Security Council resolution to reinforce regional efforts to bring the Zimbabwean crisis to an end, to allow for economic recovery, and to provide the support of the international community in ensuring that the will of the Zimbabwean people was respected. The draft resolution would have imposed a comprehensive arms embargo on Zimbabwe and subjected to a worldwide travel ban and asset

freeze 14 individuals – including Robert Mugabe – named in an annex to the resolution who had been involved in ordering, planning, or participating in acts of politically motivated violence or supporting actions or policies to subvert democratic processes or institutions in Zimbabwe. The resolution also called on the Secretary-General to appoint a dedicated special representative for Zimbabwe to support the negotiation process between the regime and the opposition.

The draft resolution was supported by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Croatia, Costa Rica, Panama, and Burkina Faso. Two African states not on the Security Council, Sierra Leone and Liberia, co-sponsored the draft resolution, as did Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Ultimately Russia and China vetoed the draft. Vietnam, Libya, and South Africa voted no, and Indonesia abstained.

Although the draft resolution was not adopted, the United States pledged to continue to urge all Security Council delegations to monitor the situation in Zimbabwe closely, to urge the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative to support the negotiating process between the political parties, and to report to the Security Council on the political, humanitarian, human rights, and security situations in Zimbabwe.

Secretary-General Ban called on the Mugabe regime to lift restrictions on humanitarian activities immediately. The United States engaged with UN agencies to urge them to do their utmost to continue humanitarian activities, especially to protect displaced and vulnerable people and to provide food aid.

## **East Asia and the Pacific**

### **Burma (Myanmar)**

In 2008 the United States sought to use key UN bodies to continue pressuring the Burmese regime for concrete and tangible progress on necessary core political reforms, including meaningful and time-bound dialogue with the democratic opposition and ethnic minorities, release of political prisoners, including Aung San Suu Kyi, and an end to violence against ethnic minorities.

In April the Burmese regime announced a May 2008 referendum on a draft constitution, as well as elections in May 2010. On May 2, the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement drafted by the United States, calling on the regime to ensure a free, fair, inclusive, and credible referendum process that included “the full participation of all political actors and respect for fundamental political freedoms.” The Presidential Statement also reaffirmed the Security Council’s previous statements of October 11, 2007 and November 15, 2007, outlining its “expectations” regarding progress on core issues.

On May 2-3, a little over a week before the scheduled constitutional referendum, Burma was hit by Cyclone Nargis, one of the worst natural disasters in its history. Despite calls from both the Burmese democratic

opposition and the international community, including the United States, to delay the polling, the regime carried on with the referendum on May 10. However, voting in the areas hardest hit by the cyclone, including Rangoon, was delayed until May 24. Subsequently, the regime announced that the draft constitution had been approved by more than 92.4 percent of voters. At the same time the regime delayed life-saving international assistance to cyclone victims.

The United States was instrumental in the December adoption by the UN General Assembly of Resolution 245 on the human rights situation in Burma. The resolution, which passed by a vote of 80 in favor, 25 against, and 45 abstentions, included tough language condemning systematic violations of the human rights of the Burmese people, including forced disappearances, sexual violence, arbitrary detention, and deprivation of the freedoms of expression, movement, and association.

The Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Myanmar (Burma) Ibrahim Gambari visited Burma in March and August. However, the regime refused to engage credibly with the United Nations and continued to arrest and detain political prisoners, issuing draconian prison terms of up to 104 years, and to flout calls for engagement with democratic and ethnic minority leaders.

### **Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)**

In 2008 no new goods, entities, or persons were placed on the arms embargo or assets freeze lists against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K., or North Korea) under Security Council Resolution 1718.

In 2008 the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was permitted to carry out a 2007 ad hoc arrangement with North Korea to begin monitoring and verification at five nuclear facilities that would be shut down and sealed pursuant to the Initial Actions agreement.

Throughout 2008 the IAEA continued to monitor the shutdown status of core nuclear facilities at Yongbyon, including the fuel fabrication plant, the 5-MW(e) reactor, and the radiochemical laboratory (reprocessing facility). While monitoring the shutdown of these facilities, the Agency was in a position to observe disablement activities conducted at these three sites.

In August-September 2008, apparently in response to the fact that the United States had not finalized the legal steps to rescind the D.P.R.K.'s designation as a state sponsor of terrorism, North Korea not only stopped work on the disablement actions agreed upon in the October 3, 2007 agreement, but also subsequently reversed a number of the disablement actions that had been accomplished at the Yongbyon facilities, primarily at the reprocessing facility. In September 2008 IAEA personnel, acting on request of the D.P.R.K., removed all seals and monitoring equipment at the reprocessing facility. North Korea subsequently announced its intention to restart the facility.

Following the October 11 rescission by the United States of the D.P.R.K.'s status as a state sponsor of terrorism, North Korea resumed disablement at Yongbyon. The IAEA, again at the D.P.R.K.'s request, then

reinstalled its seals and monitoring equipment at the reprocessing facility in mid-October.

The IAEA documented the core discharge activities at North Korea's 5-MW(e) experimental nuclear power plant. By the end of 2008, over half of the spent fuel rods from the reactor core had been discharged and transferred to the adjacent spent fuel pond. These fuel rods, as well as those remaining in the reactor core, remained under surveillance.

The IAEA reported there had been no construction work at either the 50 MW(e) nuclear power plant or the 200-MW(e) nuclear power plant since 2002. The agency made photographic records and confirmed the status of the facilities through periodic visits.

### **East Timor**

On February 11, Timorese President Ramos-Horta sustained gunshot wounds during an armed attack at his residence; rebel leader Alfredo Reinado was killed. Prime Minister Gusmao was unharmed in a separate armed attack on his motorcade. In response to the attacks, the Timorese National Parliament approved a state of emergency that imposed a curfew and restricted the right to assembly. Additionally, the Government of East Timor launched a joint command of its national police and army (F-FDTL) under the command of the Timorese Chief of Defense. The UN Mission in East Timor (UNMIT) consented to this deployment. The Mission was concerned, however, about reported misconduct by the Timorese security forces and later investigated several cases of alleged human rights violations.

The Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1802 on February 25, extending UNMIT's mandate through February 26, 2009. The Security Council condemned the February 11 attacks, called for the parties to bring to justice those responsible for them, and appealed to the people of East Timor to remain calm, to exercise restraint, and to maintain stability in the country. The United States strongly supported the mandate extension, finding the mission to be vital in ensuring and restoring stability to East Timor and to developing the capacity of the national police.

Amaro da Costa, a senior Timorese rebel soldier, peacefully surrendered on March 2 and acknowledged his participation in the attacks on the President and Prime Minister; four other rebel leaders followed suit on March 21, and still others in late April.

On March 3, the National Parliament passed a resolution recommending that the Government of East Timor work with the United Nations in establishing an international commission of inquiry to investigate the February 11 attacks. The Timorese government did not act on this request. However, in compliance with the Secretary-General's request and Security Council Resolution 1802, UN experts led by Police Adviser Andrew Hughes arrived in Dili March 19 to assess the development and reform of the Timorese Army, and how best to support the needs of East Timor's security sector.

In late April Australia announced the withdrawal of 200 troops deployed to East Timor following the attacks of February 11. The drawdown reflected the improved security situation within the country.

On June 27, President Ramos-Horta announced that he would not seek the position of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, saying that if he left office, new presidential elections could create political tensions within East Timor.

UNMIT issued a report on August 21 detailing key human rights developments in East Timor. The report stated that while the country continued to make progress on human rights, including adherence to the rule of law, strengthening the justice system, and addressing past human rights violations, challenges remained in ensuring timely access to justice, police and security operations, and adherence to proper legal processes.

On August 31, a six-week nationwide weapons collection campaign sponsored by the government concluded with the collection of 864 homemade and other light firearms, 48 explosive devices, 7,930 homemade weapons, and 9,116 rounds of ammunition.

On September 4, at a meeting of the Trilateral Coordination Forum, the government, UNMIT, and the international security forces discussed, *inter alia*: recent cases of bad discipline involving members of the national armed forces, the need for a public awareness campaign on the danger of unexploded ordnance, problems of illegal fishing and counterfeit currency, and the development of a post-campaign weapons collection strategy.

The Government of East Timor also began closing the largest camp for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Dili. On September 8, the Minister of Social Solidarity officially launched "Dialogue Teams" to assist in mediating disputes involving IDPs both before and after their return to their communities. The teams commenced work in July and resolved some 170 disputes by the end of December. Also by year's end, all but two camps had been closed.

At the end of 2008, UNMIT police strength was reported at 1,510 officers, including 74 women. The majority of these were in Dili and they continued to provide interim law enforcement while pursuing efforts to support training, institutional development, and strengthening of the national police.

## **Europe and Eurasia**

### **Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh)**

The United States remained committed to seeking a peaceful settlement to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in 2008. As one of the co-chairs (along with Russia and France) of the Minsk Group of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United States continued to support the Minsk Process as the appropriate forum to pursue a political resolution of the conflict.

In March one of the most serious clashes in years took place between Azerbaijani and Armenian forces along the Line of Contact, the cease-fire line between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh separatists. (Cease-fire violations along the Line of Contact persisted as a common occurrence, causing 30 deaths and 50 injuries.)

Azerbaijan brought its case before the 62nd Session of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) on March 14, introducing a draft resolution which reaffirmed Azerbaijan's sovereignty and internationally-recognized boundaries and demanded "immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Armenian forces" from Azerbaijani territory. The Azerbaijani Representative, in defending the resolution, was highly critical of the OSCE and the Minsk Group co-chairs and accused them of lacking clear proposals and practicing a neutrality that disregarded the norms of international law. The U.S. Representative reiterated the co-chairs' commitment to Azerbaijan's territorial integrity, but countered that the co-chairs had presented both Azerbaijan and Armenia with (the Basic Principles) a balanced package of principles which were still under negotiation. Furthermore, he explained that in the draft resolution Azerbaijan included only certain aspects of the Basic Principles without representing them in their balanced entirety. With a majority absent or abstaining, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 62/243 by a vote of 39 to 7 (U.S.). All three co-chairs of the Minsk Group voted against the resolution and characterized it as a "unilateral text, which threatened to undermine the peace process."

At the 63rd Session of UNGA in September, Azerbaijan included another resolution on the agenda, but the General Assembly ultimately took no action on that agenda item.

Two meetings between Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev and Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan provided some cause for optimism about prospects for the peace process. Following an introductory meeting in St. Petersburg in June, Russian President Dmitri Medvedev hosted both heads of state in Moscow in November. At the meeting, Aliyev and Sargsyan shook hands and signed an agreement to intensify efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully.

## **Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina closed on December 31, 2002, but in 2008 the United Nations continued to endorse the ongoing operations of NATO and the European Union (EU) in support of the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement. On November 20, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1845 authorizing for 12 months the continuation of the EU-led multinational stabilization force (EUFOR) in cooperation with NATO. Resolution 1845 also reaffirmed the role of the High Representative in monitoring the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement but recognized that Bosnian authorities bore the primary responsibility for further implementation of the Peace Agreement.

In June the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU, marking its first step toward EU membership. However, at a December 5 meeting of the Security Council, Miroslav Lajčák, the High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, expressed concern that a rise in “negative and nationalist rhetoric” could impede Bosnia and Herzegovina’s accession to the European Union. U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs Ambassador Rosemary DiCarlo welcomed the progress that Bosnia and Herzegovina had made in recent years, expressed U.S. commitment to full implementation of the Dayton accords, and voiced support for the people of Bosnia’s aspiration to join the European Union. However, she shared the High Representative’s concern over nationalist rhetoric and denounced any rhetoric that challenged the territorial integrity or institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **Cyprus**

The UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was created in March 1964 under UN Security Council Resolution 186 to help end the violence between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Since the de facto division of the island in 1974, a result of the Turkish military intervention that followed a coup d’état by Greece, UNFICYP had served as a buffer force between Turkish and Turkish Cypriot forces on one side and Greek Cypriot National Guard and Greek (Hellenic Republic) forces on the other. The first UN-sponsored negotiations to develop institutional arrangements acceptable to both communities began in 1968. Several sets of negotiations and other initiatives followed.

In 2008 the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1818 on June 13, extending the mandate of UNFICYP by six months in accordance with the Secretary-General’s recommendation in his report of June 2. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated in the report that UNFICYP “continues to play a vital role on the island” in the absence of a comprehensive settlement. On December 12, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1847, extending UNFICYP’s mandate through June 15, 2009.

In 2008, under the auspices of the United Nations and UN Secretary-General’s Special Adviser on Cyprus Alexander Downer (former Australian Foreign Minister), full-fledged negotiations began September 3. The two sides met well over 25 times afterward. The talks made some progress in 2008 – particularly on EU and economic matters – but the parties have yet to reach the difficult give-and-take phase. Negotiations continued on Phase II of the Ledra Crossing project – which involved shoring up buildings lining that particular route crossing the Green Line of demarcation. Differing positions regarding the buffer zone’s exact coordinates remained a sticking point. The United States was not directly involved in the negotiations, but continued to support the process fully with the ultimate aim of reaching a just and lasting settlement to reunify Cyprus as a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation.



UNFICYP continued to carry out its mandate with some success in 2008. It continued discussions with various civilian actors regarding their use of the Buffer Zone outside of the civil use area. By helping to establish coordination arrangements with the communities' authorities, issues such as unauthorized construction within the Buffer Zone were addressed without destabilizing the status quo.

The April 3 opening of a crossing point at Ledra Street was heralded as an important gesture toward building confidence between the Cypriot communities. UNFICYP liaised with senior commanders of both sides' forces to facilitate an agreement on the military-technical terms of the opening, including removing mines and explosives from the street as well as monitoring the withdrawal of soldiers from the National Guard and Turkish Forces/Turkish Cypriot Forces from their positions on each side of the crossing.

As of November 23, UNFICYP had facilitated 133 bi-communal events bringing together 9,441 participants from both communities to discuss issues of mutual interest. UNFICYP carried out 124 humanitarian convoys in support of Greek Cypriots and Maronites living in Northern Cyprus, while also continuing its efforts to help Turkish Cypriots living in Southern Cyprus obtain identity documents, welfare services, health care, housing, employment, and education.

UNFICYP facilitated 12 religious and commemorative events in Cyprus from November 16, 2007, to November 23, 2008, and continued its endeavor to develop working relations between both communities' police forces. Such efforts boosted cooperation in the processing of crime-related information. In the mixed village of Pyla UNFICYP continued to build confidence and good relations by mediating and monitoring agreements between the two communities.

UNFICYP worked to prevent tensions from building between the communities by addressing 706 military violations and other incidents occurring along the cease-fire line between November 16, 2007, and November 23, 2008. Incursions into the buffer zone, unauthorized enhancements of military positions, and the overstaffing of observation posts were addressed at the appropriate level of each side's chain of command and resolved quickly.

As of October 31, UNFICYP had 927 troops and police, with Argentina, the United Kingdom, Slovakia, and Hungary serving as the largest troop contributing countries. No U.S. personnel served in UNFICYP. UN assessments for UNFICYP in 2008 totaled \$28.3 million. The U.S. share totaled \$8.6 million.

## **Georgia**

Established by Security Council Resolution 858 (1993), the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) was created to monitor compliance with a cease-fire agreement reached between the Georgian government and Abkhaz separatists. Resolution 937 (1994) increased the authorized number of

military observers in UNOMIG (all unarmed) from 55 to 136. As of the Secretary-General's most recent report (October 2008), the Mission included 134 monitors and 17 police advisors. Under the May 1994 Moscow Agreement (now defunct), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) provided a peacekeeping force that monitored compliance with the terms of the cease-fire and provided security to UNOMIG monitors. The CIS force continued in this capacity until September when it withdrew its forces following the August conflict between Georgia and Russia.

On January 23, the Secretary-General released his first quarterly report of 2008 on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia. The report indicated that no major security incidents were reported between the two sides during the reporting period and that security along the cease-fire line remained calm with occasional spikes of tension. However, it noted that the political process was at a standstill and that an "image of the enemy" was pervasive among communities on both sides of the cease-fire line. Within this context UNOMIG continued to take a confidence-building approach to facilitate dialogue on security, the return of internally displaced persons and refugees, economic rehabilitation, and humanitarian issues, to contribute to a comprehensive settlement of the conflict. Meanwhile the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General met in Geneva February 18-19. On March 7, Russia unilaterally withdrew from CIS military and economic sanctions on Abkhazia that had been in existence since 1996, and which had prohibited trade and investment with the separatists, the sale of arms and military equipment, and the secondment of officers. On March 21, the Russian Duma adopted a statement calling on the executive branch to strengthen its assistance to and protection of Russian citizens living in Abkhazia and to consider recognizing Abkhazia's independence.

On April 2, the Secretary-General released his second quarterly report on the situation. The report stated that the security situation remained stable and expressed hope that the "Group of Friends" dialogue between the two sides in Geneva would lead to a resumption of regular meetings on security issues. However, the report lamented that despite the best efforts of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Jean Arnault, the negotiation process remained suspended as the Abkhaz side continued to insist on the withdrawal of Georgian armed personnel from the upper Kodori Valley as a precondition to resume negotiations. On April 15, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1808, which explicitly reaffirmed Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty and extended UNOMIG's mandate through October 15.

On July 5-6, a series of explosions took place in Abkhaz-controlled territory and near the cease-fire line in Georgian territory. Four people were killed, including an UNOMIG staffer, and 18 injured, including another UNOMIG staffer. The Secretary-General condemned the explosions and called for an immediate and thorough investigation of the incidents.

On July 23, the Secretary-General released his third quarterly report, which noted a resurgence of tension and a suspended negotiation process. The report also stated that a combination of developments brought a dangerous

dynamic to the conflict during the reporting period. One month after the decision of the Russian Federation to withdraw from the 1996 CIS restrictions on Abkhazia, Russia's president authorized direct relations with Abkhaz and South Ossetian de facto authorities to support Russian citizens in the local populations and to respond to what Russia termed Georgia's aggressive intentions. Russia also reinforced its CIS peacekeeping forces by stationing a 525-man airborne battalion in the restricted-weapons zone. Georgia demanded the withdrawal of the troops and called for a change in the peacekeeping format. Meanwhile, UNOMIG issued violation reports based on numerous instances of Georgian fighter jets and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) in the no-fly zone, including five Georgian UAV flights over Abkhaz-controlled territory on March 18, April 20, May 4, May 8, and May 12. After the Mission's fact-finding team investigated the first downing of a UAV on March 18, UNOMIG determined that such flights constituted a violation of the cease-fire and the separation-of-forces regime. Following the downing of a Georgian UAV flight on April 20, the United Nations launched an investigation and determined that it was shot down by a Russian fighter plane over Abkhazia, and that while the UAV overflight was in violation of the Moscow Agreement, Russia's offensive actions on Georgian territory had implications that went beyond the Moscow Agreement. UNOMIG also reported that while there was no obvious increase in Georgian military capabilities in the Kodori Valley, additional infrastructure improvements seemed to exceed the requirements for the declared strength of Georgian Ministry of Interior personnel.

On August 8, responding to what Russian officials reported was Georgia's use of heavy force both in Tskhinvali and in Georgia's South Ossetian region, and the killings of Russian peacekeepers, Russian troops invaded Georgia using disproportionate force. They seized Georgian territory – including territory well beyond South Ossetia and Abkhazia – in violation of Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and attacked and destroyed Georgian military infrastructure. Under a French-brokered August 12 cease-fire agreement and a supplemental clarifying instrument of September 8, Russia committed to return its forces to their pre-war numbers and locations in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. However, Russia had failed to do so by year's end.

On October 1, Johan Verbeke of Belgium succeeded Jean Arnault as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Georgia. That same day the European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM) was deployed to Georgia to monitor the stabilization process, including implementation of the August 12 cease-fire agreement.

On October 3, the Secretary-General released his fourth quarterly report, noting that the dramatic escalation of hostilities in South Ossetia on August 7-8 and the subsequent Georgia-Russia conflict profoundly affected the situation in the Georgian-Abkhaz security zone and the overall conflict settlement process, and risked destabilizing the entire region. During the reporting period UNOMIG troops were denied freedom of movement by

Abkhaz security forces. Regular patrolling of the Kodori Valley ceased on August 9 as the CIS peacekeeping force indicated that the safety of UNOMIG patrols could not be guaranteed. The UNOMIG Human Rights Office in Abkhazia reported that the closing of the cease-fire line by Abkhaz forces prevented local residents on the Georgian side from obtaining supplies at affordable prices and that local residents were asked to pay increasingly higher discretionary fees in order to cross the cease-fire line. On October 9 the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1839 extending UNOMIG's mandate until February 15, 2009.

On October 15, the United Nations and the EU co-chaired the first round of international talks in Geneva on the situation in Georgia as called for under the August 12 cease-fire agreement. Subsequent meetings were also held in Geneva on November 18 and December 17-18. As of the end of 2008, the talks had produced little to no progress. Meanwhile, the security situation in Georgia remained tenuous with the rise of crime and violence in the security zones, harassment of local populations by Abkhaz and Russian security forces, and the continued buildup of heavy artillery along the cease-fire line.

### **The Former Yugoslavia: UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo**

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia withdrew its forces from Kosovo following the 1999 air campaign against Serbian forces by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) authorized an international security presence that became the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) as well as an international civil presence that became the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) responsible for, among other things, overseeing the development of provisional self-governing democratic institutions.

Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia on February 17, 2008, after a series of high-level negotiations between Serbian and Kosovo officials failed to produce a settlement on the question of Kosovo's status. The United States immediately recognized Kosovo's independence and was joined within a few days by a majority of European Union (EU) members, as well as by Canada and Japan. Fifty-three states had recognized Kosovo by the end of 2008.

In accordance with the plan formulated by former UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari, the United States joined several other states that recognized an independent Kosovo in establishing an International Civilian Office (ICO) that began operations after Kosovo's declaration of independence. The EU established a European Union Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) to support implementation of the settlement to assume responsibilities for international supervision of the rule of law and justice, also in accordance with the Ahtisaari plan.

The Security Council debated developments in Kosovo on March 18, but was unable to reach consensus regarding the future of UNMIK in light of Kosovo's declaration of independence. The United States joined European

members of the Security Council in calling on the Security Council to support implementation of the Ahtisaari plan. Russia opposed Kosovo's independence and called on UNMIK to serve as the sovereign authority in Kosovo. All Security Council members agreed that Resolution 1244 remained in effect.

In his report to the Security Council on Kosovo on June 12, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said that pending guidance from the Security Council, he intended to reconfigure the international civil presence in Kosovo: "There is a practical need for a recalibrated international presence that is better suited to address current and emerging operational requirements in Kosovo." The Secretary-General added that in view of the expressed interest of the European Union in playing an enhanced operational role in Kosovo in the area of the rule of law, he hoped to move forward with practical arrangements in that regard. In his report to the Security Council on July 25, Ban reaffirmed his plans to reconfigure and downsize UNMIK further stating that he had instructed UNMIK personnel to cooperate with EULEX and to transfer responsibility for the law-and-order and justice functions from UNMIK to EULEX. Ban reported to the Security Council on November 28 that UNMIK had begun implementing his reconfiguration of UNMIK carrying out his directive to cooperate with EULEX personnel in transferring rule-of-law and justice responsibilities.

During Security Council debates in June, August, and December, the United States, along with European Security Council members, continued to call on Serbia to cooperate with Kosovo authorities and the international community in ensuring the rights of ethnic Serbs in Kosovo as guaranteed in Kosovo's new constitution, to respect Kosovo's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to cooperate with the EULEX and the ICO in allowing them to exercise their supervisory responsibilities.

## **Western Hemisphere**

### **Haiti**

The Security Council authorized the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) with a Chapter VII mandate to support and assist with the establishment of a secure and stable environment, political processes, and human rights in Haiti. MINUSTAH is authorized to provide technical expertise in support of Haiti's efforts to control its borders, including by establishing patrols along maritime and land border areas to curb illicit cross-border trafficking of drugs and arms as well as other illegal activities. MINUSTAH continued to help improve Haiti's security conditions in 2008. The Secretary-General's March 26 report on MINUSTAH noted significant strides had been made in key areas since his August 2007 report, but that there was a potential for regression remained apparent, and that strong international involvement remained indispensable for continued progress.

In April Haiti suffered from much civil unrest and rioting caused by steep increases in prices for food and fuel. A hostile crowd of several hundred demonstrators attacked the perimeter of MINUSTAH's regional office in Les

Cayes, but MINUSTAH troops and police dispersed the crowd and relocated staff members. Rioters later attacked MINUSTAH headquarters and other installations elsewhere in the country, damaging MINUSTAH facilities, vehicles, and staff residences.

MINUSTAH continued to assist with police operations. The Mission assisted the Haitian National Police (HNP) with rescue operations after a ferry capsized close to Leogane on May 6. On June 3, the HNP and MINUSTAH conducted three joint special operations in Port-au-Prince that resulted in the arrest of 20 suspects. Also early that month, MINUSTAH assisted the HNP in arresting a suspect for the murder of a police officer in October 2007. On June 12 two persons who had been kidnapped in Port-au-Prince the previous day managed to escape from their captors; a subsequent joint operation of HNP and MINUSTAH resulted in the arrest of several suspects.

The August 27 Secretary-General's report noted that Haiti's stabilization process suffered a significant setback as a result of the serious unrest in April, the subsequent censure of the government, and the prolonged difficulties in reaching agreement on a new Prime Minister and government. The Secretary-General also stated that the deployment of MINUSTAH remained indispensable and recommended extending its mandate by one year. In the aftermath of hurricane Gustav, an integrated team was deployed to Gonaives on September 3 to reinforce the UN humanitarian response. On September 6-7, Haiti was hit by more heavy rains and winds, further worsening the situation. Throughout this period MINUSTAH conducted rescue operations in several heavily flooded cities and provided logistical support to humanitarian assistance.

On October 14, the Security Council passed Resolution 1840, which extended MINUSTAH's mandate until October 15, 2009, and expressed the Security Council's intention of further renewal. The resolution also maintained MINUSTAH's force strength at 7,060 troops and 2,091 police.

## **Disarmament Issues**

### **1540 Committee**

UN Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004) established, for the first time, binding obligations on states, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to develop and enforce appropriate legal and regulatory measures against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery. Among other things Resolution 1540 obligated member states to criminalize and to take action against proliferation-related activities, including financing. The Security Council established a subsidiary committee, comprised of all its members, to assist with preventing and deterring illicit access to WMD, their means of delivery, and related materials.

The Security Council, through Resolution 1673 (2006), unanimously extended the mandate of the 1540 Committee for two years. The Security Council again extended the Committee's mandate unanimously until April 25,

2011, through Resolution 1810 (2008). During 2008 outreach to other member states, on a bilateral basis or in the context of existing regional or sub-regional organizations – including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Organization of American States (OAS) – continued as an important element of the U.S. approach toward the implementation of Resolution 1540. The United States sought not only to encourage member states directly to submit reports to the 1540 Committee, but also to highlight the role that regional organizations could play in promoting the discussion of their members' experiences in implementing Resolution 1540: the dissemination of best practices, the submission of more frequent and better reports in support of the resolution, and improved coordination in both requesting and providing assistance to build member states' nonproliferation capacities more efficiently.

The United States, after having extended the 1540 Committee's mandate in cooperation with co-sponsors Croatia, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia, focused its efforts on establishing a plan of work that would create increased efficiencies, examine existing funding mechanisms, and undertake a meaningful and inclusive comprehensive review. These actions highlighted the availability of technical assistance and reinforced the 1540 Committee's role as a positive clearinghouse for capacity-building to assist states in preventing non-state actors from acquiring WMD-related material and technologies.

## **Conference on Disarmament**

The Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament (CD) is the principal multilateral forum for negotiating arms control and disarmament agreements. Its agenda includes the issues of nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, weapons of mass destruction, conventional armaments, negative security assurances, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and transparency in armaments.

The CD is an autonomous body but is supported through the budget of the UN Office of Disarmament Affairs. The United States is assessed 22 percent of the approximately \$4 million devoted to CD costs annually. The CD's 65 member states are divided into geopolitical groups – the Western Group, the Eastern Group, and the Non-Aligned (G-21) Group, with China as an independent member. In addition, 38 governments also participated in 2008 as observers. All CD decisions are made by consensus and the presidency of the CD rotates alphabetically among its members during its 24-week session; each serves for a month. The CD held 35 formal plenary sessions and 33 informal plenary meetings during 2008. The CD adopted its annual report to the UN General Assembly on September 9.

The CD produced significant treaties in the past, including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Chemical Weapons Convention. When the 2008 session began, the CD had been stalemated for 11 consecutive years because it was unable to agree on a program of work; that situation continued throughout 2008.

In the initial absence of agreement on a program of work, on February 5 the Conference President (Tunisia) appointed seven representatives as coordinators, one for each of the agenda items. An organizational framework for future meetings was also circulated at that time, which was updated by the successive Presidents (Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela). Although the six Presidents subsequently presented a unified plan for the organization of the program of work on March 13, consensus on that document (CD/1840) was not achieved.

Negotiation of a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT), a key component of the draft program of work and a primary U.S. objective in the CD, continued to be blocked by a small core of states, led by Pakistan, Iran, and China. These states argued that negotiating a FMCT would disproportionately impact the CD agenda and impinge on other issues of critical importance.

## **UN Disarmament Commission**

The UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC), a subsidiary body of the UN General Assembly, is a deliberative body intended to consider in depth and make recommendations on disarmament issues. It typically meets annually for three weeks in New York and reports annually to the General Assembly. All UN member states are eligible to participate, but only one-third have attended the UNDC in recent years.

The UNDC focuses on a limited number of agenda items during a three-year cycle, and its recommendations must be approved by consensus. The focus of the United States has been to ensure that the UNDC adopts reports that are consistent with and advance U.S. policy. The Non-Aligned Movement historically has tried to focus UNDC discussion almost exclusively on nuclear disarmament issues. The United States has tried to maintain a balance in UNDC work between nuclear disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation, on the one hand and other disarmament issues, including conventional arms control, on the other. The UNDC last issued consensus recommendations in 2000.

The April 2006 UNDC session was the first to deal with substance since 2003, when the Commission failed to agree on any recommendations after three years of effort. At that session the UNDC began consideration of issues relating to nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear disarmament, and practical confidence-building measures in the field of conventional weapons. At its 2007 session, the UNDC continued its work in two groups. Working Group I considered recommendations for achieving the objective of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Working Group II prepared a paper on practical confidence-building measures in the field of conventional weapons. During the 2008 session, the UNDC continued its work along the same lines as the previous two years, but neither working group was able to reach a substantive consensus. The UNDC submitted a procedural report to the 63rd UN General Assembly. In 2009 it is scheduled to begin another three-year study cycle. In Resolution 63/83, which was



passed by consensus, the General Assembly recommended that the UNDC include on its agenda an item on elements of a draft declaration of the 2010's as the fourth disarmament decade.

While not blocking consensus, the United States did not support the resolution.

## **Peacekeeping Issues**

### **Peacekeeping Finance**

In 2008 the United States supported 17 peacekeeping missions, including two newly opened missions: the UN Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) and the UN-African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Toward the end of 2008, the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) closed.

The United States supports UN peacekeeping operations when they can be an effective means of containing conflict and resolving disputes in support of U.S. national interests. It has supported proposals to improve the United Nations' ability to determine the appropriate response to conflict situations, to plan and manage peacekeeping operations, and to respond quickly to UN mandates. The United States also has encouraged other states to include peacekeeping in their national security strategies and to contribute forces to peacekeeping whenever appropriate. The total number of troops, military observers, and UN police from all nations serving in UN missions at the end of 2008 increased by 7,403, due primarily to the expansion of UNAMID. As of December 31, the United Nations had a total of 77,571 troops, 2,630 military observers, and 11,511 UN police participating in 16 UN peacekeeping operations. The U.S. contribution for UN peacekeeping included 72 U.S. police and 19 U.S. military serving in UN military staff or observer positions.

UN peacekeeping activities have grown dramatically over the past years, resulting in the U.S. share increasing from some \$795 million in fiscal year 2003 to nearly \$2 billion in fiscal year 2008.

### **Peacekeeping Reform**

The growth in demand for UN peacekeeping operations that began in the mid-1990s led to the creation in 2000 of the Panel on UN Peace Operations, chaired by then-UN Under Secretary-General Lakhdar Brahimi. The Panel's "Brahimi Report" made a long list of recommendations on improving UN peacekeeping operations, including restructuring and strengthening the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), as well as improving in planning, standards of conduct, and force generation.

Since that time, DPKO's professional standards and planning have improved substantially. The United Nations established a forward logistics base with strategic stocks at Brindisi, Italy, to enable more rapid deployments. DPKO established force standards to ensure minimum qualifications for

troops. By the end of 2008 there were almost 110,000 personnel serving in 16 peacekeeping operations around the world.

Despite substantial improvements made in managing peace operations in response to the Brahimi Report, there was not a parallel growth in headquarters staff to support the expansion of peacekeeping. In 2007 UN General Assembly Resolution 279 approved a plan to restructure DPKO and substantially increase resources, particularly staffing, available to plan and support UN operations. The restructuring created a separate Department of Field Support (DFS) headed by an Under Secretary-General and several new senior management officers. DFS became responsible for administrative and logistic support, and DPKO became responsible for military, police, and stabilization planning. The two departments began working in integrated teams. The restructuring created 284 new positions and 137 new contract positions, as well as revisions in contracting and procurement procedures designed to streamline work, improve performance, and reduce the need for further additional positions. A small number of new positions were created in offices in other Secretariat departments that support peacekeeping as well as other UN programs, including security and information technology.

In June 2008 the General Assembly's Fifth (Budget) Committee approved an additional 45 positions for the DPKO's Office of Military Affairs, to improve its capacity for planning operations. Almost all the positions approved in 2007 were filled by the end of 2008, as well as a number of those approved in 2008. Filling the remaining positions was a DPKO/DFS management priority at the end of the year.

## **Sexual Exploitation and Abuse**

In 2008 the United States continued to pressure the United Nations and troop-contributing countries to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse and to hold perpetrators accountable.

According to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), 83 new allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse were made against UN peacekeeping personnel in 2008. The UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) reviews all allegations and conducts investigations into those deemed serious and credible. In 2008 OIOS completed 82 investigations (including some from earlier years and not necessarily corresponding to the 83 new allegations). Eleven allegations were determined to be unsubstantiated, 14 individuals were repatriated, and disciplinary action was taken in five cases.

Alleged and confirmed cases of sexual exploitation and abuse are reported in the Department of State's comprehensive semi-annual report to the Congress on UN measures taken to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse and the effectiveness of such measures, pursuant to Section 104(e) of the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA), fiscal year 2006, (P.L. 109-164). The Department's reports covered all alleged cases reported to DPKO or alleged cases reported by the press. The report provided additional insight from U.S. embassies in countries where the UN

peacekeeping mission was located and/or where alleged incidents of sexual exploitation and abuse occurred. Each report covered all peacekeeping missions expected to be created or renewed during the following six months. In 2008 reports were submitted in early March (covering August 2007-February 2008) and early September (covering February-August 2008). Separately and also pursuant to section 104(e) of the TVPRA, the Department's 2007 Trafficking in Persons Report summarized actions taken by the United Nations to prevent trafficking in persons or the exploitation of trafficked victims.

Throughout 2008 UN member states, working in particular in the General Assembly's Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (the C-34), addressed issues related to preventing sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeeping personnel. Following the work done in 2007 to address investigations into allegations of misconduct by military personnel and the creation of a strategy to address the needs of victims of sexual exploitation and abuse, in 2008 attention was focused on how to ensure that UN civilian personnel and police were held accountable for any such misconduct.

During 2008 the United Nations continued to work through its Conduct and Discipline Teams (CDTs) in UN peacekeeping missions to develop policies and programs to promote application of the UN's zero-tolerance policy and to inform local communities of safe channels for reporting allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse. CDTs continued to receive complaints and reports of misconduct and to determine which allegations should be handled by missions and which were sufficiently serious to refer to OIOS. Where necessary, UN peacekeeping missions instituted off-limits areas, curfews, telephone hotlines, and/or required mission personnel to wear uniforms at all times. In addition, DPKO continued to update training modules provided to troop-contributing countries for pre-deployment training. On arrival all personnel were given additional briefings on standards of conduct and the zero-tolerance policy.

## UN Police

UN police officers have participated in peacekeeping missions since the 1960s. During 2007 UN police issues were placed under the newly-created Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) as part of an overall restructuring of UN management of peacekeeping operations. The Police Division is responsible for issues related to civilian and military police, as well as *gendarmes*. At the end of 2008 11,511 police officers were deployed around the world in support of UN missions.

The United States continued its efforts to provide high-quality police officers to UN operations. At the end of 2008 the United States had police officers assigned to the UN missions in Haiti (43), Liberia (15), and Sudan (14). Demand for qualified police officers to deploy to peacekeeping missions continued to outpace the supply, in particular demand for formed police units (FPU) used primarily for public order management, policing that requires unit

action, and protection of UN personnel and facilities. During 2008 the United Nations conducted an expert technical assessment of FPU deployed to missions around the world, which found a discouraging lack of professional skills, particularly firearms proficiency. This finding applied to units supplied by the full range of police-contributing countries and was true across the board in missions everywhere. The causes ranged from a lack of professional training and expertise before deployment to a failure to continue to maintain training and best practices after arrival. The United States funded a U.S. expert to participate in the assessment. DPKO's Police Division, in consultation with member states, concluded in December that in-mission training was urgently needed as a first step, with longer-term steps taken to ensure that the situation did not recur. Plans were set in motion to train and dispatch Mobile Training Teams in 2009. In addition, at the end of 2008, DPKO's Police Division also began drafting formed police unit doctrine to help police-contributing countries better understand the roles of FPUs in UN missions and provide a standardized training approach.

By May 2008, 25 professional police officers had been recruited to join the new Standing Police Capacity (SPC), established to support planning for and start-up of new UN police operations and to support existing operations with police reform and capacity-building. Their initial deployment was to Chad to support the establishment of an urgently needed police unit. The Police Division planned to move the SPC in 2009 to the UN transport and training site in Brindisi, Italy.

## **Special Issues**

### **Children and Armed Conflict**

Concentrated UN involvement in the issue of children and armed conflict commenced following the groundbreaking Machel Report in 1996, which comprehensively analyzed the effects of armed conflict on children. The United Nations reacted to the report by mandating a Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict who pursued this issue in the United Nations and with individual member states throughout 2008.

The Security Council Working Group established pursuant to Resolution 1612 (2005) met on numerous occasions in 2008 to review the Secretary-General's country-specific reports, as well as his Annual Report on Children and Armed Conflict that lists state and non-state actors that actively and unlawfully recruit and use children. This list of parties to armed conflict that unlawfully recruit and use children is bifurcated: Annex I lists parties in countries currently on the agenda of the Security Council; Annex II lists parties in countries that are not on the Security Council's agenda. These reports evolved from Resolution 1261 (1999), which addressed unlawful recruitment and use of children in the context of international peace and security, and the Security Council's follow-up work in Resolutions 1379

(2001), 1460 (2003), and 1539 (2004). The Working Group's current mandate is the result of Resolution 1539 in which the Security Council decided to establish a monitoring and reporting mechanism on children and armed conflict, and Resolution 1612 in which the Security Council decided to establish a Working Group to review reports on that mechanism.

The Working Group is a subsidiary body of the Security Council. The Working Group established a 2008 program of work based on the annexes of the Secretary-General's annual report, which listed 12 country-situations for review. In furtherance of its mandate, the Working Group reviewed and adopted conclusion documents on each country's situation. These documents provided for letters or public statements from the President of the Security Council or Chair of the Working Group to the concerned member states, non-state actors, the Secretary-General, the appropriate Special Representative or Resident Coordinator, and international organizations or programs, including the World Bank and regional bodies like ASEAN or the African Union. These letters or statements reflected observations and recommendations agreed upon by the Working Group. Parties to armed conflict in each designated member state that unlawfully recruit or use child soldiers are reviewed on an approximately annual basis to measure progress on addressing the issue of children and armed conflict. De-listing only occurs if a party evidences compliance with an action plan to halt the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict and displays implementation of that action plan, particularly in the areas of unlawful recruitment and separation of children from military units or other armed groups.

By the end of 2008 the Working Group had reviewed all parties to armed conflict listed in the annexes to the Secretary-General's 2007 Annual Report except for Colombia. These countries included: Afghanistan, Burma, Burundi, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda. Although it has a powerful set of tools, the Working Group has faced challenges in gaining consensus on employing them.

Although success is difficult to measure, non-state actors from the Côte d'Ivoire who were previously listed in the Secretary-General's report remain de-listed. This was the first recorded de-listing. In addition, the Government of Uganda signed an action plan seeking to address the issue of unlawful recruitment and use of children in armed conflict in Uganda. Other encouraging developments for the Working Group included increased cooperation of relevant parties in certain country situations and a marked reduction in the number of new recruits.

The Working Group and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC), Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy (Sri Lanka), sometimes ventured beyond the countries listed in the annual reports of the Secretary-General. For example SRSG Coomaraswamy traveled to Iraq during 2008 and provided a formal trip briefing to the CAAC Working Group (Her informal trip report is available at <http://www.un.org/children/conflict/english/iraq-april-2008.html>).

The Working Group did not review and react officially to her trip notes. Such trips, however, can be used for advocacy in other fora including the General Assembly or the Human Rights Council.

## **Non-Self-Governing Territories**

The status of non-self-governing territories, defined as “territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government,” is considered annually by the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24 or C-24) and by the Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee) of the UN General Assembly.

The United States is the administering power of three non-self-governing territories considered by the Committee: American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Puerto Rico, as a self-governing dominion, was removed from the Committee of 24’s jurisdiction in 1953.

In 2008 the United States continued its long-standing practice of joining with the United Kingdom to ensure agreement on an “omnibus” resolution on the “Questions of American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Pitcairn, Saint Helena, the Turks and Caicos Islands and the U.S. Virgin Islands.” This resolution confirmed the right of self-determination and reiterated the call for complete decolonization. It further recognized the work of the “administering powers” to this end. Resolution 63/108 A-B was adopted by consensus as in prior years. The United States continues to fulfill reporting requirements as requested by Resolution 63/108 A-B and Article 73(e) of the UN Charter.

In the General Assembly the United States voted against or abstained on a series of resolutions addressing the governance and independence of non-self-governing territories. These resolutions contained unacceptable provisions regarding land tenure, economic and military activities, or the responsibilities of administering powers. The U.S. stance was that the generalizations in the item on economic and military activities (Resolution 63/102) were unnecessary and tended to inflame rather than settle the issue in question. The United States maintained that it is ultimately within the authority of the administering power to determine when its obligations under Article 73e cease and that Resolution 63/103 unnecessarily and inappropriately linked the work of the specialized agencies and other organizations to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. (Resolutions 63/109 and 63/110, titled “Dissemination of Information on Decolonization” and “Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples” respectively, historically have been used by Cuba and its allies in the Fourth Committee as platforms for inflammatory denunciations of the United States.)

## **Oil-for-Food Program**

The Oil-for-Food program was terminated on December 31, 2007, with the expiration of the final 68 contracts, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 1483 (2003). However, 210 unpaid letters of credit, worth approximately \$656 million were still pending with BNP Paribas at that time. The suppliers of 164 of these unpaid letters of credit, worth approximately \$175 million, claimed that they had fulfilled the contract by delivering goods and services in Iraq; the holders of the remaining 46 letters of credit, worth approximately \$481 million, did not claim delivery of goods and services. Therefore their underlying contracts have been targeted for cancellation, and the associated \$481 million remains in the UN Iraq Account at the request of the Security Council.

The 164 contracts with claims of delivery cannot be paid out without the receipt of the corresponding authentication documents from the Central Bank of Iraq (CBI). In letters to the Secretary-General dated January 29, April 30, and November 8, 2007, certain Security Council members expressed their concern regarding the Government of Iraq's delay in authenticating the letters of credit and urged it to expedite the authentication process, so that the suppliers could receive payment for the delivery of goods and services. The Government of Iraq met with the UN Oil-for-Food experts several times in 2008, but little progress was made in resolving the claims on the outstanding letters of credit. P-5 members continue to press the Government of Iraq to resolve the remaining Oil-for-Food issues.

## **Peacebuilding Commission**

The UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) continued its work on Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, and Sierra Leone during 2008, and the Security Council placed the Central African Republic on the PBC's agenda. To date the PBC has contributed to ensuring inclusive national dialogues on the causes of recurring instability, served as the voice of the international community on issues that do not rise to the level of Security Council attention, brought in additional donors to these "aid orphan" countries, and facilitated greater coordination among donors and between the many UN entities operating on the ground in these countries. In 2008 the permanent representatives to the UN of Belgium, Brazil, Norway, and Sweden served as chairs for the PBC's country-specific activities, organized a variety of meetings in New York and in the countries on the PBC's agenda, regularly briefed the Security Council on developments, and issued statements and findings on positive and negative developments in the field.

In addition to the PBC's country-specific agenda, the 31 members of the PBC's Organizational Committee continued to advance the PBC's methods of work. The Japanese Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Yukio Takasu, served as Organizational Committee chair during 2008. He organized several Organizational Committee thematic discussions that brought in institutional donors, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to discuss topics such as UN and donor support

for rule-of-law capacity-building in the countries on the PBC's agenda, the role of the private sector in peacebuilding, and the relation between peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The Working Group on Lessons Learned, created in 2006, organized sessions on rule-of-law, internally displaced persons, best practices in direct budgetary support to post-conflict countries, gender issues in peacebuilding, environmental issues in post-conflict states, and the management of natural resources. In December 2008 the PBC Organizational Committee met to consider the initial draft of the Security Council-mandated Secretary-General's report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict.

While the PBC continued to work with national governments on developing and elaborating integrated peacebuilding strategies for the countries on its agenda, there was also movement toward "lighter" forms of engagement, where the PBC focused on particular issues of concern, such as the disarmament and demobilization process for rebel ex-combatants in the Central African Republic, or based its engagement with a country on that country's adopted national peacebuilding strategy, such as Sierra Leone's National Agenda for Change. The integration of the Bretton Woods Institutions – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – into the PBC's activities continued, and the chairs of several country-specific configurations made trips to Washington, D.C. to consult with them in 2008.

In 2008 an American, Jane Holl Lute, became the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support and head of the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO). The PBSO continued to support the work of the PBC as well as take on the challenge of convening UN entities to produce recommendations and findings for the Secretary-General's report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict. The PBSO also oversaw the operation of the UN Peacebuilding Fund, which approached \$300 million in pledges and deposits and dispersed approximately \$98 million in project funding to 10 countries, including the three on the PBC's agenda.

## **Sanctions**

The United States continued to support the imposition of UN sanctions in response to threats to international peace and security. Chapter VII, Article 41, of the UN Charter authorizes the Security Council to require member states to implement measures not involving the use of armed force to give effect to its decisions. Under this authority the Security Council has resorted to the use of multilateral sanctions to address threats to international peace and security where diplomatic efforts alone have been insufficient.

The United States believes that international sanctions, appropriately structured and targeted, can serve as a key political tool to prompt a change in policies or behaviors that threaten international peace and security. Sanctions have restricted access to arms, funds, and commodities used to undermine security; have helped UN member states deny travel to listed individuals, and have helped isolate the leadership of sanctioned regimes. The United States recognizes that sanctions alone are often insufficient and are most effective



when used in conjunction with effective diplomacy. The effectiveness of UN sanctions is directly linked to the willingness and ability of member states, particularly neighbors of the targeted regime, to implement and enforce the measures.

In 2008 the Security Council maintained multilateral sanctions regimes directed toward threats to peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iraq, and Iran, as well as against non-state actors in Sierra Leone. Additionally, UN sanctions remained in place in accord with Resolution 1518 (2003) against senior officials of the former Iraqi regime; in accord with Resolution 1267 (1999) against individuals and entities associated with Usama bin Laden, the Taliban, and al-Qaida; and in accord with Resolution 1636 (2005) against individuals designated by the International Independent Investigation Commission or the Government of Lebanon as suspected of involvement in the terrorist bombing that killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and 19 others. In July the United States successfully introduced a draft resolution (subsequently approved as Resolution 1823) that terminated remaining sanctions against Rwanda established pursuant to Resolution 918.

The United States introduced a number of measures in Resolution 1822 (2008) to strengthen fair and clear procedures in listings and de-listings, including by requiring the 1267 Sanctions Committee to undertake a two-year, comprehensive review of all entries on the 1267 sanctions list, as well as to make accessible on its website narrative summaries of reasons for listing of all the names on the consolidated list. Many of the enhancements to UN 1267 Committee procedures were adopted by other UN sanctions regimes.

The arms embargo on Somalia, dating back to 1992, remained in place as the oldest sanctions regime in effect. Resolution 1844, adopted on November 20, expanded the sanctions regime to include targeted measures. The UNSC Somalia Sanctions Committee can designate an asset freeze, travel ban, and targeted arms embargo for those individuals and entities engaging in or providing support for acts that threaten the peace, security, or stability of Somalia – including acts that threaten the Djibouti Agreement of August 18, or the political process; threaten the Transitional Federal Institutions or the African Union Mission in Somalia by force; violate the general and complete arms embargo; and/or obstruct the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Somalia, or access to or distribution of humanitarian assistance in Somalia. Resolution 1853, adopted on December 19, re-established for 12 months the Somalia Sanctions Committee's Monitoring Group, established by Resolution 1519 (2003), to continue monitoring implementation and violations of the arms embargo. The Monitoring Group's mandate was also expanded in Resolution 1853 to include monitoring the implementation of the new targeted measures and adding another expert to the group.

On July 10, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1823, terminating the Rwanda sanctions regime. This was in response to positive developments in Rwanda, especially the signing of the Pact on Security,

Stability, and Development in the Great Lakes Region; the Nairobi Communiqué; and the Goma Peace Process.

While much progress has been made in Liberia; due to the fragile security situation, the United States supported Resolution 1819, adopted on June 18, which renewed the mandate of the Panel of Experts until December 20. On December 19, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1854, which renewed the arms embargo and travel ban on designated individuals for a period of 12 months, and re-appointed the Panel of Experts for 12 months.

Concerned with the ongoing situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), the Security Council adopted Resolution 1799 on February 15, Resolution 1807 on March 31, and Resolution 1857 on December 22, which renewed for one month, nine months, and eleven months, respectively, the D.R.C. Sanctions Committee's Group of Experts, established by Resolution 1533 (2004). Resolutions 1799, 1807, and 1857 also renewed the arms embargo imposed by Resolution 1493 (2003) and the travel ban and asset freeze imposed on designated persons by Resolution 1596 (2005), including the extension of such measures to designated individuals operating in the D.R.C. and committing serious violations of international law involving the targeting of women in situations of armed conflict; individuals obstructing access to or the distribution of humanitarian assistance in eastern D.R.C.; as well as individuals or entities supporting illegal armed groups in eastern D.R.C. through illicit trade of natural resources. In Resolution 1807, the Security Council decided that the arms embargo no longer applied to the Government of the D.R.C. Resolution 1804, adopted March 13, recalled that the targeted measures including a travel ban and an asset freeze apply in particular to political and military leaders of armed groups operating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo who impede the disarmament and the voluntary repatriation or resettlement of combatants belonging to those groups, and stressed that those measures were applicable to leaders of the FDLR, ex-FAR/Interahamwe and other Rwandan armed groups designated in accordance with the provisions of those resolutions.

In addition, the situations in Côte d'Ivoire and Sudan prompted the Security Council to adopt two sanctions-related resolutions for these countries in 2008. In Resolution 1842, adopted on October 29, the Security Council re-established the Group of Experts concerning Côte d'Ivoire through October 2009; renewed for one year the arms embargo, travel ban, assets freeze, and embargo on the import of rough diamonds originating in Côte d'Ivoire; and decided that any threat to the electoral process in Côte d'Ivoire would constitute a threat to the peace and national reconciliation process. The Group of Experts supported the Côte d'Ivoire Sanctions Committee by monitoring the effectiveness of the sanctions regime, in cooperation with the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). In response to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, the United States supported the adoption of Resolution 1841 on October 15. Resolution 1841 re-established for one year the Panel of Experts concerning Sudan, originally established by Resolution 1591 (2005), and called on all

states, relevant UN bodies, the African Union and other interested parties to cooperate fully with the Committee and the Panel of Experts.

The United States supported two sanctions resolutions in response to the international threats to peace and security posed by Iran's nuclear programs. The United States drafted and welcomed the adoption of Resolution 1803 on March 3, in response to Iran's continued pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability. Resolution 1803 expanded and strengthened the existing sanctions regime established under Resolutions 1737 (2006) and 1747 (2007). It added to the arms embargo, travel ban, and asset-freeze measures previously established additional goods, entities, and persons directly associated with or providing support for Iran's proliferation-sensitive nuclear activities or the development of nuclear-weapon delivery systems. Resolution 1835 (September 27) reiterated the Security Council's commitment to the series of four previous resolutions that collectively constitute the Iran sanctions regime.

## **Security Council Membership**

Each year the General Assembly elects five non-permanent members of the Security Council for two-year terms. To be elected countries must receive a two-thirds majority of UN members present and voting. In accordance with the UN Charter and Security Council practice, the non-permanent Security Council seats rotate among the various regional groups, with Asian and African candidates appearing on the same ballot, resulting in a cyclical allocation between Asia and Africa. In 2008 the five open seats were allocated as follows: one for Africa, one for Asia, two for the Western Europe and Others Group (WEOG), and one for the Latin America and Caribbean Group (GRULAC). Two of the five non-permanent seats were uncontested because the Africa group reached consensus supporting the candidacy of Uganda and GRULAC reached consensus supporting the candidacy of Mexico. Austria, Iceland, and Turkey contested the two WEOG seats while Iran and Japan contested the Asia seat.

On October 17, the General Assembly (UNGA) voted for the non-permanent members. The UNGA traditionally approves by acclamation regional consensus candidates, which was the case for Uganda and Mexico. Austria and Turkey won election by votes of 151 and 133, respectively, in the first round of voting. In a much-watched contest, Japan won election by 158 votes to Iran's 32 votes in the first round of voting, with one abstention and 191 countries voting.

As a matter of long-standing policy, the United States does not reveal its vote in elections either before or after the balloting. After the election Ambassador Alejandro D. Wolff, the Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, expressed the interest of the United States in working with all the newly elected members. In reference to Iran he also said, "It's important for Iran to understand that its continued violation of binding resolutions of the Security Council is reflected in this very poor showing and

hopefully they will understand that there is no support for this type of behavior.”

## **Security Council Thematic Debates**

The UN Security Council addressed a number of thematic issues in 2008. On March 19, it held an open debate on “Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.” The Security Council considered the revised organizational plan for the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), which had been established under Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), and the renewal of its mandate. Mike Smith, Executive Director of CTED, noted that all the provisions of Resolution 1373 remained relevant in 2008. He also stressed that the work of the Directorate had shifted considerably, from ensuring that countries adopted counterterrorism legislation and an appropriate response framework to assessing and improving member states’ capacity to enforce their legislation and prevent terrorist activity. In compliance with Resolution 1737 (2007), Smith recommended organizational changes to the Security Council, including the creation of five functional groups under CTED’s Assessment and Technical Assistance Office, to reflect the Directorate’s evolving role. The five groups covered the spheres of technical assistance; terrorist financing; border control, arms trafficking, and law enforcement; legal issues; and issues raised by Resolution 1624 (2005), as well as human-rights aspects of counterterrorism. The Security Council broadly endorsed the Directorate’s reorganization and unanimously passed Resolution 1805 (2008), which extended CTED’s mandate until December 2010 and called on the Directorate to work even more with member states to improve their capacity to implement fully Resolution 1373 (2001).

At the end of the year the Security Council again took up the topic of “Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.” In a December 9 meeting attended by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the Croatian Permanent Representative proposed a renewed call for global solidarity in the face of terrorism in the wake of the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai. He argued that in the years since September 11, 2001, “The war on terrorism as an unquestionable threat to international peace and security had actually turned into a kind of exclusive competence of one country or of a group of countries that it led.” To address this concern the Security Council adopted a Presidential Statement that emphasized the need for cooperative action and a strong role for the United Nations in responding to the threat of terrorism. In support of the statement, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Zalmay Khalilzad welcomed “the Security Council’s reaffirmation of the importance of countering radicalization and violent extremism” and voiced strong support of “UN efforts to better protect young people from manipulation by violent extremists.” The statement contained strong language “condemning all forms of terrorism, including suicide bombing and hostage taking” and asserted that “the strengthening of mutual trust among member states of the United Nations will facilitate the creation of

conditions for a successful fight against terrorism.” The Security Council reaffirmed the importance of improving member states’ capacity to prevent terrorism and highlighted the need to address “root causes” by protecting human rights and preventing extremists from exploiting young people.

On April 16, the Security Council met to discuss both “peace and security in Africa” and the Secretary-General’s report on “the relationship between the United Nations and regional organizations, in particular the African Union (AU), in the maintenance of international peace and security.” The Security Council emphasized the need for effective partnerships between the United Nations and regional bodies, especially the AU, to address local crises swiftly. It also acknowledged that regional organizations are often “well positioned to understand the root causes of armed conflicts.” At the conclusion of the meeting, Security Council members voted unanimously to adopt Resolution 1809 (2008), which called for further involvement by regional bodies in settling disputes and encouraged regional organizations to cooperate to improve their respective capacities to preserve international peace and security. The Resolution also expressed “the need to enhance the predictability, sustainability, and flexibility of financing regional organizations when they undertake peacekeeping under a UN mandate.” In light of this, the Security Council supported the Secretary-General’s proposal to form a joint African Union-United Nations panel to explore methods of implementing Resolution 1809.

In an April 30 meeting, the Security Council held an open debate on the issue of small arms. The meeting responded to the Secretary-General’s 2008 report on small arms and the threat they pose to international peace and security. Concerned about the easy availability of small arms, several speakers argued for global standards to combat their illegal traffic. Although the 2001 “Program of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects” increased awareness, some representatives argued the Program did little to staunch the flow of weapons because it was not legally binding. The United States stressed that, if implemented, the Program of Action contained all necessary provisions to reduce the illicit proliferation of small arms. Responding to the Secretary-General’s recommendation for end-user certificates, the United States suggested instead a “robust end-user monitoring system.” This proposal sought to provide a system through which physical verification could occur both pre- and post-sale to ensure that light arms shipments would not fall into the wrong hands. Many participants supported strengthening existing mechanisms and working toward an arms trade treaty that would standardize the international small arms trade. The United States opposed pursuing such a treaty and cautioned against “efforts at standardizing practices” without evidence that standardization would effectively combat the illicit trade in small arms. The Security Council took no action at the conclusion of the debate.

In addition, the Security Council held a high-level debate on cooperation between the UN and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in September 2008.

On November 19, the Security Council met to debate the topic of “Strengthening collective security through general regulation and reduction of armaments.” The debate centered on Article 26 of the UN Charter, which gives the Security Council the mandate of “promoting the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world’s economic and human resources.” Concerned with rising international military expenditures, the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement that emphasized the need for collective security and asserted that “the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces, as appropriate, constitutes one of the most important measures to promote international peace and security with the least diversion of the world’s human and economic resources.” Member states reached broad consensus on the need for increased collective security through regional and international organizations to diminish the need for states to spend excessively on providing for their own security. The United States agreed with the importance of multilateral engagement to reduce armaments, but also advocated for voluntary associations that use “a broad range of legal, diplomatic, economic, military, and other tools to interdict threatening shipments of weapons of mass destruction and missile-related equipment and technologies.” The United States also reaffirmed its commitment to working through the United Nations to strengthen compliance with existing arms control treaties and cited Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004), which addressed arms proliferation, as an example of how the Security Council could work to reduce armaments. Security Council President Costa Rica called for new arms trade treaties to prevent the sale of arms to countries or groups likely to violate human rights and promoted the “Costa Rica Consensus” to establish a system of debt forgiveness for countries that devote budgetary resources to environmental and social issues and lower their military expenditures. Though the Presidential Statement did not incorporate these proposals, it did urge nations “to devote as many resources as possible to economic and social development, in particular in the fight against poverty and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.”

In 2008 the Security Council also debated the “role of the Security Council in supporting security-sector reform.” In a May 12 meeting attended by Secretary-General Ban, the Security Council identified “the need to develop an holistic and coherent UN approach to security sector reform as recommended by the Secretary-General, in close consultation with member states.” The Security Council produced a Presidential Statement that recognized that “the establishment of an effective, professional, and accountable security sector is one of the necessary elements for laying the foundations for peace and sustainable development,” and that security-sector reform was the “sovereign right and primary responsibility of the country concerned.” The Statement specified that the United Nations must situate its assistance for security-sector reform in the broader context of the rule of law and that such support should contribute to broader UN rule of law, reconstruction, and development efforts. The Security Council also urged

cooperation with non-UN bodies such as international financial institutions, regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations to support countries coming out of conflict situations.

In another meeting devoted to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council addressed the issue of the “mediation and settlement of disputes.” Drawing from countries’ experience with mediation, speakers called on the United Nations to strengthen its mediation capabilities. Several representatives suggested earlier and more frequent mediation interventions, and others indicated that including regional and subregional organizations, women, and all parties to the conflict would fortify the United Nations’ mediation capacity. Representatives also stressed the importance of supporting peacebuilding initiatives and of giving local actors ownership of the mediation process. In addition the discussion demonstrated the necessity of UN engagement in mediation, calling on the Secretary-General to continue to designate envoys and special representatives to mediate between parties. Secretary-General Ban attended the September 23 meeting and emphasized the ability of diplomacy to save states and the international community lives and money. Special Adviser Lakdhar Brahimi argued that the United Nations’ “universality, its impartiality, and its consistent adherence to the principles enshrined in its Charter” are its most vital qualifications to act as an effective mediator. The United States reiterated its commitment to “UN Charter principles for resolving international disputes peacefully” and urged the international community to “strengthen and deepen the pool of potential international mediators and facilitators.” The meeting produced a Presidential Statement that declared the United Nations’ crucial role in mediation and emphasized the points raised during discussion.

The Security Council turned its attention to the topic of “Post-conflict peacebuilding” in a May 20 debate. Members agreed on the importance of the international community’s involvement in assisting states emerging from conflict to lay the foundations for lasting reconstruction and development, and reaffirmed the role of regional organizations in “prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts.” Addressing the Security Council, the Secretary-General asserted that increased civilian expertise, clear leadership, and sufficient on-the-ground capacity were crucial to bolstering the United Nations’ post-conflict response and its ability to achieve peacebuilding priorities. He added that the development of small standby UN police and mediation units was a step in the right direction, but noted that the United Nations still needed to work to secure “early and flexible” funding to ensure rapid post-conflict deployment. The United States reiterated the need for immediate post-conflict response, suggesting that, like a patient in critical condition, a post-conflict state would have a better prognosis with immediate, effective attention. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Security Council issued a Presidential Statement that emphasized that post-conflict peacebuilding, political, security, humanitarian, and development activities must be “integrated and coherent.” Acknowledging the importance of local ownership of the peacebuilding process, the Statement also called on the

Secretary-General to report within 12 months on how the United Nations could best support national efforts in the areas of coordination, deployment of civilian expertise, and financing.

In a second Security Council meeting on “Post-conflict peacebuilding,” members debated the continuing role of the UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). Yukio Takasu, chair of the PBC, told the Security Council that 2009, the Commission’s third year, would be a test of its ability to make a difference on the ground. The PBC, he explained, focused on supporting national efforts but also was seeking to develop and strengthen high-level partnerships with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Union, and the European Union. The United States voiced its strong support for the PBC in spite of its slower-than-hoped-for progress, and shared its belief that, ultimately, the PBC would play a vital role in UN peacebuilding operations. The United States also argued that the PBC should be “a priority throughout the UN system” and that the Secretary-General must have the “authority and resources to coordinate the response of UN agencies and the broader international response.”

On May 27, the Security Council debated the topic of “Protection of civilians in armed conflict.” Under Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs John Holmes briefed members on the progress made in the nine years since the Security Council first considered the topic. The United Nations had helped achieve broader international awareness, and Security Council resolutions had developed a framework to address the problem. He advocated forming an informal expert group under the Security Council to remain engaged on the issue and stressed that the protection of civilians in armed conflict was a crucial part of the Security Council’s work. While some speakers called for a treaty to ban cluster munitions, the United States argued that such munitions were important to its armed forces and those of its allies and suggested that effective implementation of existing treaties could mitigate the potential harm to civilians from cluster munitions. Other member states urged development and expansion of the “responsibility to protect” principle, but China expressed reservations and said that the Security Council was not the proper venue to expand it. All members expressed concern that civilians continued to suffer violence in armed conflict and reaffirmed that states and parties to conflicts bear responsibility to protect civilians in conflict zones. A number of members also expressed grave concern for the ongoing and widespread use of sexual and gender-based violence against civilians in conflict situations throughout the world. The Presidential Statement adopted by the Security Council condemned “all violations of international law, including international humanitarian law, human rights law, and refugee law committed against civilians in situations of armed conflict.” The Statement also demanded an end to impunity and that states prosecute those who had committed “war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and serious violations of international humanitarian law.” Recognizing the importance of humanitarian relief, the Security Council called on parties involved in conflicts



to ensure humanitarian personnel and goods safe, unhindered access to the civilian population.

The Security Council convened a ministerial-level meeting on June 19 to discuss “Women and peace and security.” Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice presided over the meeting in the United States’ capacity as President of the Security Council. Drawing attention to a lingering debate over the appropriateness of the Security Council as a forum to debate sexual violence as a security issue, Secretary Rice asserted in strong terms that violence against women in armed conflict indeed merited the Security Council’s consideration, adding that the international community carried the “responsibility to be their advocates and their defenders.” Security Council members lamented that violence and sexual attacks against women were still widespread and in some conflict areas brutally systematic. Secretary-General Ban referred to the plague of violence directed at women as being of “pandemic proportions” and capable of eroding efforts to secure peace. He urged the United Nations to push back against the culture of impunity and lawlessness behind much of the violence and to support not only measures to combat violence against women in situations of armed conflict but also to implement a broader strategy of women’s empowerment, including further involvement of women in police forces and peacekeeping missions. After the debate, the Security Council voted unanimously to adopt Resolution 1820 (2008). The resolution roundly condemned violence against women and stated that “rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide.” The United States, along with Security Council allies, worked to ensure that the resolution established a link between preventing and responding to sexual violence when used as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians, or as part of systematic attacks against civilian populations in armed conflict. Furthermore, at the insistence of the United States and others, the Security Council asserted its intention to take systematically employed sexual violence in situations of armed conflict into account when establishing or renewing state-specific sanctions. Expressing concern about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women’s participation in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, the Security Council urged the Secretary-General and his special envoys to invite women to participate in conflict prevention and resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding efforts, and encouraged all parties to facilitate the full participation of women in decision-making. Acknowledging past abuses by UN peacekeepers, the Security Council also requested that the Secretary-General strengthen implementation of the UN zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse, and requested that troop-contributing nations provide their contingents with pre-deployment and in-theater awareness training. The Security Council asked the Secretary-General to report by June 30, 2009, on the implementation of Resolution 1820. This reporting requirement aims to expose instances of systematic sexual violence against civilians and to encourage taking steps to halt the violence.

On October 29, a second meeting on “Women and peace and security” yielded a Presidential Statement that reaffirmed Resolution 1820 and, noting “the vital role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding,” called on states and the United Nations to address the under-representation of women in the peace process and peacebuilding. The Statement encouraged the Secretary-General to appoint women to more high positions, such as special representative or special envoy. In addition, the Security Council denounced all international law violations committed against women during or after hostilities and directed states to prosecute offenders and to ensure that women had access to effective recourse through the legal system. The Security Council asked the Secretary-General to report on this issue again within one year.

Citing “increasingly complex responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security,” the Security Council debated the topic of “Security Council working methods.” The August 27 meeting requested by the small-five (S-5) group — Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore, and Switzerland — addressed issues of access to the Security Council and transparency. The S-5 sought a more systematic approach to briefing non-Security Council members, especially on items of particular relevance to individual states. The United States highlighted concrete measures the Security Council had enacted to improve transparency: increased use of the Security Council’s Internet site; participation in the Security Council Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Questions; and issuance of presidential notes to explain the Security Council’s procedures. Continuing, the United States expressed its disappointment in the low attendance at briefings given by the Security Council president and at open meetings. Many countries argued that Security Council working methods had an impact beyond its limited membership as the Security Council’s decisions had ramifications for the broader UN community. Australia, for example, contended that its contribution of troops to UN peacekeeping missions merited increased participation in Security Council deliberations, especially regarding missions involving its personnel. The Secretary-General commended Security Council members’ commitment to greater transparency and interaction with non-member states.

## **Terrorism**

In 2008 the United Nations continued to play a leading role in countering international terrorism. The United States supported and worked with other Security Council members to shape UN efforts in the Security Council’s terrorism and nonproliferation-related committees, which include: the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) created pursuant to Resolution 1373; the 1267 Committee (al-Qaida/Taliban/Usama bin Laden sanctions); and the 1540 Committee (nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction), as well as in the General Assembly, where efforts continue to implement a Global Counterterrorism strategy that was adopted in 2006 and renewed in 2008.

The Security Council adopted three resolutions and four presidential statements (PRSTs) directly related to terrorism in 2008. Resolution 1805 renewed the Counterterrorism Committee's (CTC) Counterterrorism Executive Directorate's (CTED) mandate and urged it to intensify cooperation with regional and subregional bodies, as well as with other UN entities working on counterterrorism issues, to ensure member states' implementation of Resolution 1373 and to facilitate the provision of technical assistance to fill capacity gaps hampering full implementation. Resolution 1810 reaffirmed the importance of international cooperation and compliance with the requirements of Resolution 1540 and reiterated the importance of all member states' implementing fully that resolution. Resolution 1822 extended the mandate of the 1267 Monitoring Team, the expert group associated with the 1267 (al-Qaida/Taliban sanctions) Committee and revised the Committee's procedures for determining which individuals and entities would be subject to sanctions to make those procedures more fair and transparent. The United States supported four PRSTs condemning international terrorist attacks.

The CTC, established by Resolution 1373 after the events of September 11, 2001, continued its work as the leading counterterrorism body of the Security Council. The United States actively supported the work of the CTC. In March 2008 the United States sponsored Resolution 1805, which renewed the mandate of the Counterterrorism Committee's expert group, the Counterterrorism Executive Directorate (CTED). In May 2008 the United States supported the adoption by the Committee of a document titled "Survey of the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) by Member States," which the Committee has since submitted to the Security Council. This report was prepared by the CTED. The report provides an assessment of the implementation of Resolution 1373 (2001) in regions and subregions and draws conclusions about progress in the implementation of this resolution in key thematic areas. It also contains priority recommendations for the Committee's future action. The United States continued to promote closer cooperation and coordination between the CTC and CTED and other UN and international organizations' counterterrorism efforts. This included continued support for greater coordination in facilitating and coordinating counterterrorism technical assistance to member states.

In June 2008 the United States sponsored Resolution 1822 which extended the mandate of the 1267 Monitoring Team and revised Committee procedures for determining which individuals and entities would be subject to targeted sanctions (asset freezes, travel bans, and arms embargoes) to make those procedures more fair and transparent. The United States continued to refer to the Committee the names of individuals and entities for inclusion on the consolidated list of individuals and entities subject to sanctions. The United States sponsored the addition of 10 individuals and one entity to the Consolidated Sanctions List in 2008.

The United States continued its support of the Global Counterterrorism Strategy, a UN plan to enhance coordination of national, regional, and international efforts to counter terrorism. An updated Strategy,

adopted during the 63rd General Assembly in September, marked a consensus adoption by all UN member states of a common strategy on fighting terrorism. The United States provided funding for two of the UN Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force's working groups established to address radicalization and extremism that lead to terrorism and strengthening the protection of vulnerable targets.

Negotiations on the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) in 2008 remained at an impasse over a provision included in other recent international counterterrorism conventions – which the United States and like-minded countries supported – exempting state military forces from the scope of the Convention because other provisions of international law already govern their activities. Negotiations also failed to resolve the question of whether the CCIT should include language that could be used to argue that terrorists claiming to act in the name of national liberation movements were excluded from the scope of the Convention. The United States continued to take the position that any provision of this nature would undermine the credibility of UN- and member states' counterterrorism efforts.